

The Life and Times
OF
Gen. John A. Sutter

...BY...

T. J. Schoonover

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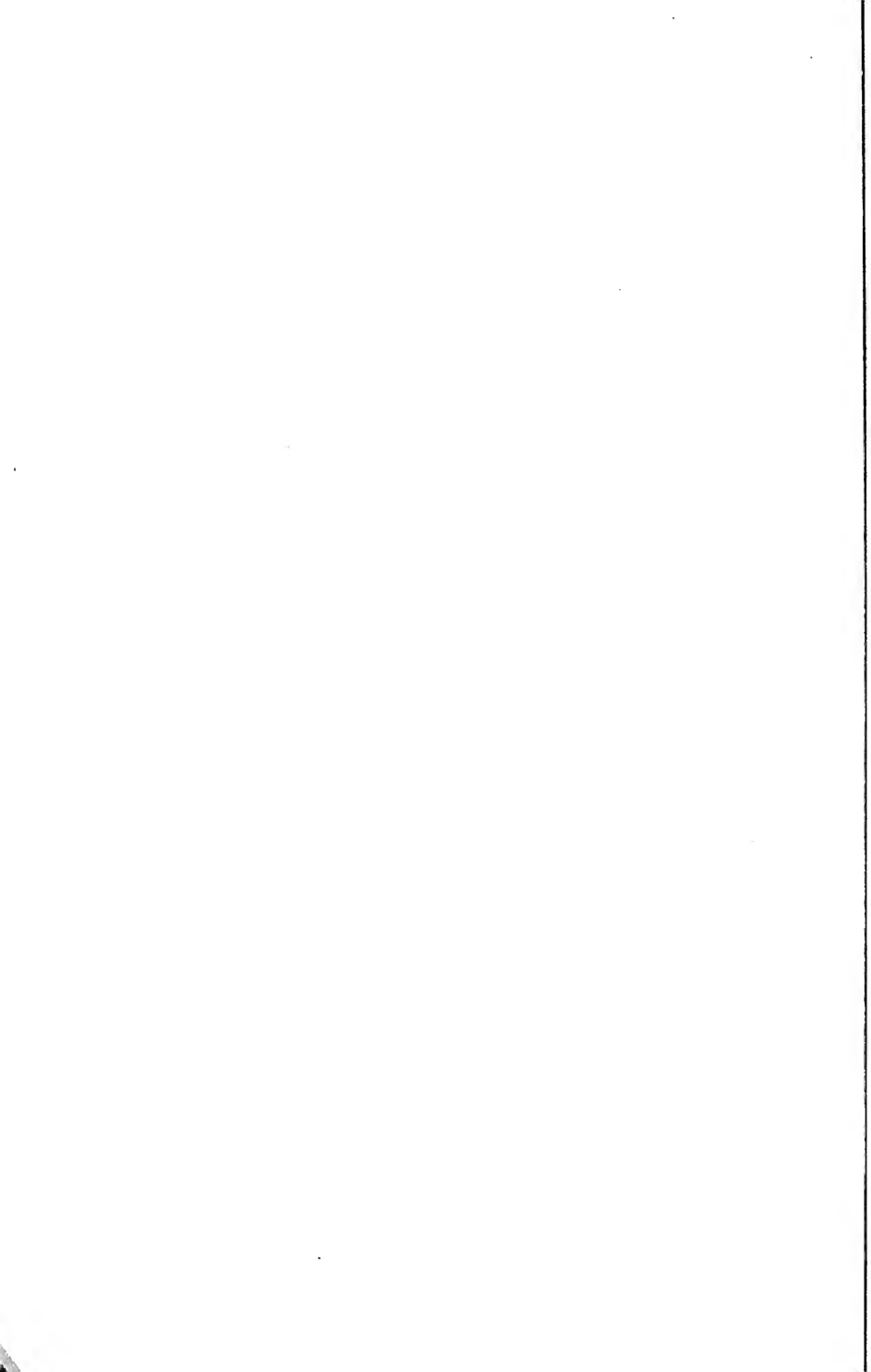
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GENERAL JOHN A. SUTTER.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

—OF—

Gen. John A. Sutter

(ILLUSTRATED)

Revised and Enlarged Edition

—BY—

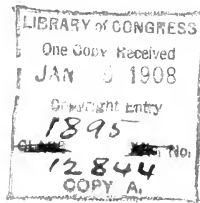
T. J. SCHOONOVER



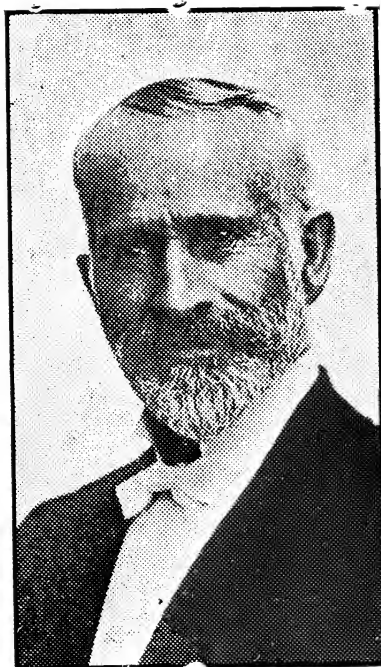
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To the memory of the
California Pioneers this
work is dedicated by
THE AUTHOR.



T. J. SCHOONOVER

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By T. J. Schoonover.

PREFACE.

In preparing this narrative my aim has been to preserve fidelity to truth. That it contains errors there can be no doubt. I hope, however, to be found fairly correct. Some of the episodes introduced may appear, at first, extraneous and irrelevant. A faithful endeavor to acquaint the reader with the environments of Mr. Sutter and with the political prejudices prominent in our country during his time, suggested them. I believe every episode used herein will aid the reader in his conclusions.

The men whose biographies are briefly sketched, were significant figures in building an empire in the far west. Their names will be associated forever with the land their genius, enterprise and courage honored and adorned. Eulogy will wreath them with laurels till gifted pens are laid aside and eloquent lips are mute. Imperfect, indeed, must be the biography of Sutter that makes no allusion to the exploits of Benjamin Halliday. His enterprises made it not only possible, but pleasurable to travel over the western world, even where the solitude of sleeping centuries was unbroken save by the warwhoop of the savage, the scream

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of the panther, or other tuneless and startling echoes of the wild.

John Butterfield, Esq., another interesting pioneer and builder of the west, is entitled to recognition here. As well omit the keystone of an arch. His Overland Stage facilitated mail transportation across the continent and helped to people the west with some of the brainiest men that ever lived. And then the "Pony Express",—how can that be omitted? Caravan freighting from the Missouri River to the Sacramento is and always will be an interesting subject.

To induce young people to familiarize themselves with the early history of their own loved country, I have sought to weave into my narrative a few threads of those facts which are somewhat tinged with romance. I ventured upon this course, however, with much reserve. Many great names and enterprises I should be solicitous to remember but forego the pleasure for want of space.

For the continued courtesies of Honorable Winfield J. Davis of Sacramento, and of Miss Eudora Garoutte and Miss Annie Lowry of the historical department of the California State Library, and of Miss Retta Parrott of the Free Library of Sacramento City, I wish to express my grateful acknowledgment.

THE AUTHOR.

SUTTER'S FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE.

A Swiss family by the name of Sooter moved into Kandern in the Grand Duchy of Baden in the autumn of 1800. To this family the subject of this narrative was born. As the event occurred at midnight, the last day of February and the first day of March 1803, share alike the honor of ushering into active life him whose name, like Tell's, will live through centuries to come. The name Sooter passed through several changes but finally graduated into its present orthography and pronunciation.

Young John Augustus spent his early boyhood in Kandern where he received the rudiments of education. But to Switzerland, whose mountains bathe in skies of unsurpassed loveliness, our hero was indebted for his love of romance and his wealth of imagination. After having passed through the common school, he was placed in a military college at Berne, where he was graduated in the year 1823. About this time he married Miss Anna Dubelt. After having taken his degree, he entered the French service as an officer of the Swiss Guard, and was in the Spanish campaign of 1823-4, where he distinguished himself by his bravery, his generous, frank and confiding nature, and by his faithful and conscientious discharge of duties as

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a soldier and responsibilities as an officer. He continued in the French service till 1834.

His parents were classed with families of respectability; possessing ample means to introduce them into circles of social and intellectual refinement.

Captain Sutter, as he was then called, possessing an enterprising spirit and a keen relish for romance and pioneer adventures, conceived the idea of founding a Swiss colony somewhere in North America. To this end he made available his effects, bade adieu to friends and fatherland and sailed for New York, where he arrived about the middle of July, in the year 1834. Thence he pushed on to what at that time was called "The far west," his objective point being Saint Charles, Missouri, where he proceeded to explore the vast region lying west of the Mississippi, hoping to acquire possession of a large tract of land and pave the way for a settlement of his own countrymen. This scheme he was soon forced to abandon. The vessel containing his means being wrecked in the Mississippi River he sustained a total loss of his belongings.

He then made an exploring trip to Santa Fe where he ventured in some speculation with trappers, whites and Indians, with whom he carried on a profitable fur trade. While there he received a glowing description of California. Its hills, he was told, were as green in January as the vales of Switzerland were in May.

Leaving Missouri he traveled with the American Fur Company under command of Captain Tripp to their rendezvous on the Wind River in the Rocky Mountains. Thence in company with six men he set out on horseback across the mountains and over the long stretch of unbroken solitude lying between Tripp's rendezvous and the interior of the Oregon territory. He visited The Dalles, a trading post established by the Hudson Bay Company on the left bank of the Columbia River, whence he went to Fort Vancouver. It being late in autumn when he arrived at this place he was unable to procure an escort to California. He was told that Indians were numerous and hostile, that the cold on the mountains would be bitter and the storms overpowering.

He was invited by the commander of the fort to remain with him over winter. Declining this offer, he embarked on a trading vessel bound for the Sandwich Islands, whose king received him very kindly, making him a present of eight young husky Kanakas for a body guard. After five months of wearisome stay he shipped as supercargo without pay on the *Clemantine*, an English brig chartered by Americans and bound for Sitka. Here he made the acquaintance of the Governor of Alaska by whom he was treated as an honored guest.

The governor entered into a contract with him in which he agreed to furnish him with such things as

he would need in his colony. Itemized in this agreement were good iron, steel and files to be used in his shops, beads for the Indians, coarse cannon powder and fine rifle powder, etc, etc. Attaching great importance to these supplies, Sutter guarded them with prudent watchfulness. Especially did he look upon his ammunition as Abraham Lincoln said Stephen A. Douglas looked upon the famous "Dred Scott" decision, as his "Thus sayeth the Lord."

After a month's delay in discharging the cargo of the *Clemantine*, he sailed down the coast encountering heavy gales, when, after having lived many days on reduced rations, he sailed into San Francisco bay on the 2nd day of July, 1839. An officer and fifteen soldiers boarding his brig informed him that Yerba Buena was not a port of entry and ordered him to leave it without delay. With a good deal of reluctance they consented to let Sutter remain in port long enough to repair the brig and procure necessary supplies. This being accomplished, he sailed down to Monterey where he obtained of Alvarado,* the provincial governor, a pass with full permission to travel through California with his men and a promise that if he would return within a year and naturalize to the Mexican government, he, Alvarado, would grant him ten square leagues of any unoccupied land he might choose to locate.

* Juan Bautista Alvarado was appointed provincial governor of California in 1838, and subsequently regular governor, by the Republic of Mexico.

Returning to Yerba Buena he discharged the Clementine, chartered of Messrs. Leese, Speare and Hinckly a schooner and purchased several launches for the purpose of exploring the Sacramento and other inland rivers. This village contained about forty inhabitants, most of whom were employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1847, by an ordinance of the Alcalde the name of this place was changed to San Francisco. No man in the place had any knowledge whatever of the Sacramento River. Opposed by prevailing fog and misled by small inlets and recesses that indent the shore Sutter was eight days in finding the mouth of the river. On its banks ten miles below where the City of Sacramento now stands, 500 painted warriors assembled to dispute his passage. A chief and several of his tribe understanding Spanish, Sutter informed them that his mission was peaceful and that his party would endeavor to maintain friendly relations with them. To soothe their ruffled passions he gave them beads, ribbons and other trinkets and smoked the calumet with them. Two of them who spoke Spanish volunteered to pilot him up the Sacramento which he explored as far as the mouth of the Rio de las Plumas, where he dropped anchor and proceeded some distance up that stream in a row boat. On returning he found the crew in incipient mutiny, protesting against penetrating farther into a country where indications created

only dark forebodings. Painted aborigines were seen skulking here and there along the river banks, now sheltered from observation beneath the dense brush that fringed the streams, now presenting a bolder and more formidable appearance. The most of them were armed, some with guns, some with bows and arrows and others with tomahawks. They were poorly clad, many being entirely naked. Their number, like their design, was a puzzle.

The crew asked Sutter if he were intending to explore the stream farther. He said he would give them an answer in the morning. He wanted to explore the Sacramento farther but being opposed by a mutinous crew he weighed anchor on the following morning and dropped down to the mouth of the Rio de los Americanos on the left bank of which he discharged his goods on the 12th day of August, 1839, settled with all who desired to leave him and gave them passage on the Isabella to Yerba Buena. Remote from the music of enterprises, in a solitude seldom broken except by the notes of the wild-fowl and the guttural tones of the Red-man, our adventurer with but fifteen men to assist him pitched his tent, mounted his guns, established sentinels and laid the foundation of an empire which, for the beneficial consequences it entailed, is peerless in the republic of colonies.

Sutter now found himself legally established in a country unsurpassed in natural resources, extending

its boundaries over every variety of soil and climate, watered by the tranquil Sacramento and its tributaries and everywhere canopied by the softest tints of azure. The aborigines at this time and place were numerous, hostile and treacherous; to guard against a "surprise party" of them a trusty sentinel was kept on duty at night. Any neglect of this careful vigilance would have imperiled the life of every one in the colony. In after years when Sutter's dominion was established and the Indian had learned to respect his prowess and his generous nature, a friendly chief told him, that had it not been for the "big guns" (cannon) his tribe would long since have scalped every man in the settlement and carried away all of its treasures.

A large mastiff, owned by Sutter, saved his master's life on two occasions. On a dark night when balmy sleep was holding the great adventurer in its gentle embrace, a stalwart Indian, with tomahawk in hand softly entered the tent where the hero was sleeping. "Brave," having a couch near his master's feet and being true to canine instinct, "snuffed the game." Seeing his master's situation, he displayed his fidelity by springing upon his murderous assailant with courage that knew no bounds. The Indian losing his tomahawk in the encounter, the contest became even handed. "Brave," whose eyes were aglow with ferocity, seizing his antagonist by the throat, soon reduced

him to abject submission. Other similar attacks were averted by the faithful dog.

In October, 1839, Sutter brought to his ranch about five hundred head of cattle, fifty horses and a manada of twenty-five mares which he had previously purchased of Senor Martinez. In the autumn of 1840 he purchased of Don Antonio Sunol one thousand head of cattle, and as many horses of Don Joaquin Gomez and others. In the same autumn he built an adobe house where the fort now stands, covering it with tules (bulrushes), a covering that was found to serve best in dry weather.

In the same year the Kanakas, assisted by the friendly Indians in Sutter's employ, built three grass houses fashioned after those in the Sandwich Islands.

The neighboring Indians were inclined to be troublesome a greater portion of the time. In 1840 they became very annoying, killing cattle and stealing horses. Sutter sought to inculcate in them a higher conception of right and wrong by an occasional display of wholesome discipline, sanctioned by well-timed authority. By pursuing this course he soon reduced them to an improved system of behavior.

In the summer of 1840 several hundred painted warriors, armed with guns, bows and spears, collected on the banks of the Cosumnes river, twenty miles away, for the avowed purpose of reducing the settlement. Sutter left a small garrison at home with cannon and

small arms loaded, and with eight brave men (brave they must have been), two of whom were expert vaqueros, went to attack them. The unsuspecting warriors imprudently retired the night before the battle without setting sentinels and were surprised at daybreak in their camp. Being thrown into disorder and confusion they fought at a disadvantage, and after a severe engagement, in which they lost heavily, a settlement was adjusted by virtue of which these warriors became his friends and allies, enabling him to conquer nearly all of the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys.

Prominent among the Indians who formed this treaty, was a young chief by the name of "Abraham." This illustrious title was conferred upon him by a white man of the Hudson's Bay Co. on account of his dignified and patriarchal appearance. His hair was long and black as a raven's wing and had a slight tendency to curl. The whites were addicted to conferring fanciful names on the Indians. His head dress, which was a gorgeous one, was well ornamented with the largest quills from swan and eagle. He wore the affectionate remembrance of a black satin vest, a garment worn about that time in elegant and fashionable society. Of this vest Abraham was very proud. It was so worn that nothing remained of it but the collar and armholes. Add to this the frill invented long ago by the mother of Abel and you complete his habiliments.

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The colony obtained its supplies chiefly from San Francisco, the trip to that place being made by Indians and Kanakas, and in an open boat. Sometimes a strong adverse wind and at other times a dead calm prevailed many consecutive days, when they sought to make headway by turning to the god of muscle and invoking a "white-ash breeze" (the use of oars). In his journal Sutter says: "It is a wonder we got no swamped a many time, all time with an Indian crew and a Kanaka at the helm."

A self-explaining letter to Alvarado reads as follows: "A su excellencia Senior Don Juan Bautista Alvarado, Governor de constitutionalde las das Californias, en Monterey—Excellent Sir: Allow me to write you in English, because I like not to make mistakes in an expression. I have the honor to send you with this an act of a committed crime on this place; please give me your Orders" what I have to do with the Delinquent which is kept as a Prisoner here. Delinquent Henry Bee was put in Irons, but his friends bound themselves for 1000 Dollars Security, when I would take the irons from him, in which their wishes I consented.

"John Wilson, Black Jack, is well known, as at life he was a bad character, which may be something in Bee's favour. Waiting for your Orders, I shall keep the Delinquent in Prison.

"The Trapping party from the Columbia River will

be here in about 8 Days under command of Mr. Ermatinger. I am also waiting for one of my friends, a German Gentleman, with the same party. I believe he travels for his pleasure.

“A strong body of American farmers are coming here, a young Man of the party got lost since 10 Days, nearly starved to death and on foot; he don't know which Direction the party took. I believed they will come about the Direction of the Pueblo. I was also informed that another company is coming stronger than this under Mr. Fanum (Farnum).

“Some very curious Rapports come to me, which made me first a little afraid but after two hours I get over the fit.

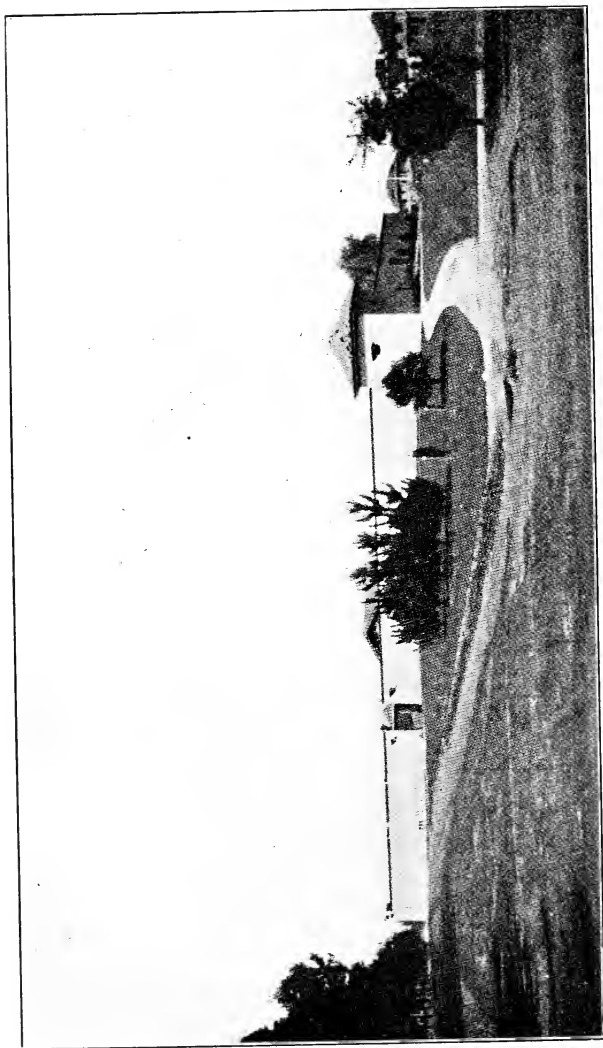
“I remain, excellent Sir!

Very Respectfully,

J. A. Sutter.

“Nueva Helvetia, November 4 de 1841.

“P. S.—in a short time I shall have a secretary who is able to write Spanish.”



SUTTER'S FORT.

THE FORT.

In the summer of 1841, Sutter began to build his fort. It was an adobe structure, the brick being made by Kanakas and Indians; the latter having become friendly and serviceable to the colony, some of them were kept constantly in Sutter's employ. Sutter himself worked very hard at building the fort, not only superintending the entire plant, but directing all of the operations, and with his own hands making and laying brick.

This fort, so justly famed as a landmark of pioneer adventure, industry and enterprise, was built ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the settlement from the incursions of wild, warlike and treacherous Indians; but to protect the settlement from the violence and encroachments of the more jealous, cowardly and not less treacherous Spaniards, was an incentive paramount to all others.

Great as the undertaking must have been, in the absence of energetic and skilled laborers and mechanical appliances suited to advance a work of such magnitude, the outer wall was completed in the autumn after it was commenced. The fort was sufficiently large to accommodate the entire settlement for cooking and

sleeping purposes and the workshops were built and the tools and stores kept within its walls. The fort was completed in 1844. In 1846 General Castro offered Sutter, in the interests of Mexico, one hundred thousand dollars for it. It was promptly declined. Sutter, naturally enough, reposed greater confidence in the virtue of the massive battlements and the intrepid and iron-throated debaters on whose fidelity he could safely rely, and which were ready, on a moment's warning, to thunder through the embrasure an avalanche of convincing argument, than he did in the good faith and sincerity of those upon whom he had been taught by experience to look with distrust, and whose real aim was a problem which defied solution. In imagination, we can enjoy with the little colony the pleasure a feeling of safety was calculated to inspire. It was a luxury that helped to extract the bitterness from toil and the sting from human existence.

The following is an extract from the official report of Captain Fremont who visited the fort in 1844 in command of the United States exploring expedition:

"The fort is a quadrangular adobe structure, mounting twelve pieces of artillery (two of them brass), and capable of admitting a garrison of a thousand men; the present garrison consists of forty Indians, in uniform—one of whom is always found on duty at the gate.

"As might naturally be expected, the pieces are not in very good order.

"The whites in the employ of Captain Sutter, Americans, French and German, amount, perhaps, to thirty men. The inner wall is formed into buildings comprising the common quarters, with blacksmith and other work-shops; the dwelling house, with a large distillery house and other buildings occupying more the center of the area.

"It is built upon a pond-like stream at times a running creek communicating with the Rio de los Americanos, which enters the Sacramento about two miles below.

"The latter is here a noble river, about three hundred yards broad, deep and tranquil, with several fathoms of water in the channel and its banks continuously timbered. There were two vessels belonging to Captain Sutter at anchor near the landing—one a large two masted lighter, and the other a schooner, which was shortly to proceed on a voyage to Fort Vancouver for a cargo of goods."

John Charles Fremont, explorer, was born in Savannah, Ga., June 21, 1813. His father, who was a Frenchman, taught his native language. John Charles became teacher of mathematics on the sloop-of-war "Natchez" in 1833, afterwards took his degree in Charleston College, was appointed to a professorship on the frigate "Independence" of the U. S. Navy, but

declined, was commissioned by President Van Buren as second lieutenant of topographical engineers, married Jessie Benton in 1841, and in 1842 was instructed by the war department to take charge



JOHN CHARLES FREMONT.

of an expedition for the exploration of the Rocky Mountains in search of a south pass. Subsequently he made two more expeditions across the continent. An account of his investigations had great influence in promoting Utah and the Pacific States. The Mormons learned of him respecting the

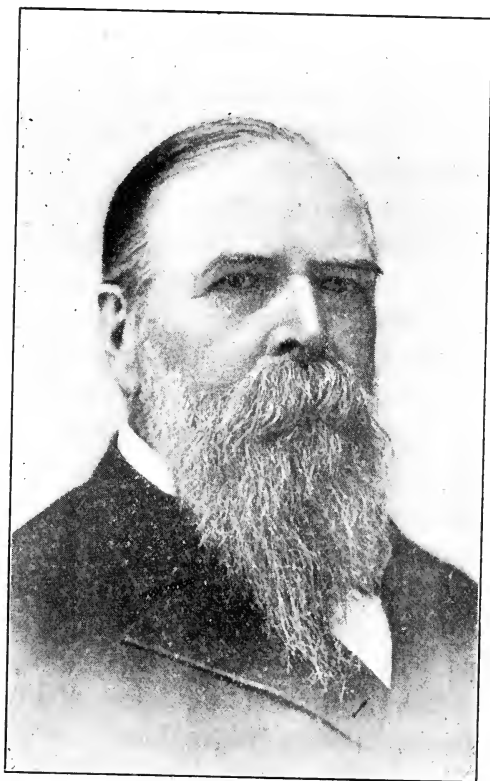
Great Salt Lake and its environs. He was U. S. Senator from California. Being at dinner in Paris when news of the Civil War reached him, he immediately left the table, saying: "Friends, excuse me, my country calls me home." Gen. Fremont was nominated for President of the United States by the first Republican national convention and was Governor of Arizona in 1878-81.

EARLY VISITORS.

Individual trappers and hunters in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Co. occasionally reached the settlement and now, the latter part of the year 1841, small parties began to cross the Sierras from the United States. Many of these emigrants were good enterprising men who were recognized by Sutter as important acquisitions to his moral, social and intellectual forces. I will instance John Bidwell, who was twenty-two years old, of noble bearing and fine address. He was scholarly, energetic and methodical. Being metaphysical, he was mentally well calculated to supply the discriminating qualities of mind which appeared at times to need supporting in Sutter. As I shall have occasion to mention his name many times, I will notice, in this place, some of the notoriety he attained in after years.

John Bidwell was born in Chautauqua County, New York, August 15, 1819; was educated in Kingsville Academy, served in the war with Mexico, rising from second lieutenant to major; was a member of the California State Constitutional Convention at Monterey; was one of the committee appointed to convey a block of gold-bearing quartz to Washington in 1850, and was a delegate to the National Democratic Conven-

tion held in Charleston in 1860. He was representative in congress in 1865-7; regent of State University, 1880; trustee of State Normal school at Chico 1889-96;



GENERAL JOHN BIDWELL.

nominee for Governor 1875-1890; was nominated for President in 1892. He died at Chico, April 4, 1900.

In 1841, Sutter received from Alvarado a grant of

eleven square leagues of land, which he called New Helvetia after the ancient name of Switzerland. He received also an appointment to the military command of the Northern District of California, and was at the same time created Alcalde (judge) of the same district. He was visited the same year by Major Ringgold and seven officers and fifty men of Commodore Wilkes' exploring squadron, then lying in San Francisco bay. Professor J. D. Dana was also a member of the visiting party. Sutter, with his accustomed courtesy, dispatched a servant with saddled horses for the officers and a secretary to invite the company to the fort. The courtesy of Sutter will be more fully realized when it is recollected that bands of Spanish cattle were grazing on the commons where they were liable to be met at any time by the visitors on their way from the embarcadero to the fort. Unprotected footmen imperiled their lives by encountering one of these bands. On the prairie where shelter from an attack was not obtainable, one of these cattle was little less formidable than a Bengal tiger. Subsequently Wilkes became famous through the Trent affair, which resulted in the arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell of the Confederate States, during the Civil War.

This expedition was in the service of the United States, and its mission here was to acquire a knowledge of the geography and geology of the Pacific Coast. In consequence of the loss of the Peacock,

a vessel of the squadron, on the Columbia bar, Prof. J. D. Dana and others were compelled to travel overland to New Helvetia where they arrived worn, weary and in distress.

In 1812 the government of California, under Spanish rule, granted the Russians the privilege of erecting buildings and establishing settlements at Bodega and Ross, for the purpose of salting beef and caring for the hides and tallow and for raising grain and vegetables for other Russian settlements too far north for success in such branches of husbandry. Bodega is about fifty miles north of San Francisco, and Ross lies about twenty-five miles farther up the coast. The permission to settle at these places was never reduced to the virtue and dignity of a written instrument. The settlements, however, were made and flourished. Ranchos were improved; corn, turnips, cabbage and potatoes were grown in abundance. Wheat and barley were also raised, orchards were planted and comfortable habitations were erected.

The sawed lumber used in these settlements came from Norway, being shipped around Cape Horn. Not a saw-mill was known to exist at that time anywhere on the Pacific shore.

The settlement at Ross grew to a population of three hundred souls, embracing Russians, Muscovites, Kodiaks and half-breeds of every tribe, squaws generally beings the half-breeds' mothers.

To California and Mexico the growth and prosperity of these colonies were fruitful sources of jealousy and unrest. Spanish and Mexican authorities were illy satisfied with prosperity anywhere in their dominion that did not directly replenish their own coffers. Spain strenuously objected to what she saw was a menace to her public tranquillity. Her objection was set forth in a formal remonstrance, but to no avail. The Mexican government also served a written notice on the Russians to quit the country, which request was also wholly disregarded. General Vallejo in the meantime advanced upon Fort Ross with an armed force, but, deeming his strength insufficient to reduce the place, retired without further demonstrations of hostility. All efforts to remove the Russians were futile. They defied the authorities and continued to "hold the fort," carrying on a profitable trade with New York and Boston in hides, beef and tallow until 1841, when, having stripped the shore of sea otter and other fur-bearing animals, and being annoyed by Indians, Californians and Mexicans they concluded to sell out and withdraw from the country.

THE RUSSIAN PURCHASE.

In the autumn of 1841 Alexander Rotchoff, the governor of Bodega and Fort Ross, visited Sutter and offered to sell him the possessions under consideration. In the purchase of this property, there were but two competitors: Jacob P. Leese, who offered \$25,000 in the interest of the Hudson Bay Company, and Captain Sutter who made the purchase for \$30,000 and was dined and wined by the Russian governor on the brig *Helena* on the 12th day of December, 1841. The purchase price of this property Sutter agreed to pay in annual installments. The first and second years \$5000; the third and fourth years \$10,000; the last installment, it was agreed, should be paid in cash and all others were to be paid in barter, including wheat, peas, barley, soap, hides and tallow, all of which were to be delivered in good condition at Yerba Buena on the first day of September in each year until paid. It was agreed on the part of Rotchoff that a vessel should be in readiness in San Francisco bay to receive the cargo, Sutter agreeing to pay custom house charges and harbor dues, and in case of delay on his part, to pay the expense of the voyage in cash. The contract, by which the parties to this transaction were bound, provided that, in case war prevented the Rus-

sian Company entering San Francisco bay, payment should be made later. Sutter pledged New Helvetia for the faithful performance of his contract. This purchase embraced 2,000 cattle, 1,000 horses, 50 mules, 250 sheep, a herd of swine, several pieces of ordnance, one four-pound brass field piece and some smaller arms, some farming and mechanical implements, a schooner of 180 tons burden, a barrel of flints which were thrown away by Napoleon Bonaparte on his memorable retreat from Moscow, and the lumber, windows and doors used in the buildings and about the premises.

On the 28th day of December Captain Sutter dispatched some men with a clerk to receive the property included in the purchase and bring the live stock to Helvetia. Some of this stock was lost in transit; one hundred head of cattle alone were drowned in crossing the Sacramento river. Fortunately the most of the hides were saved. Sutter afterwards quaintly observed: "Those hides were our bank notes."

In the beginning of January, 1842, John Bidwell took charge of the late purchase, or that part of it not removed to Helvetia, staying at the Russian settlement till March 1843. While there he had a man to cook for him and other men to look after the stock and other properties belonging to Sutter and remaining on the land where it was purchased. The lumber, windows and doors were taken to the settlement and used in finishing up the fort and its buildings.

THE BRASS CANNON.

One of the pieces of artillery embraced in the Sutter purchase has quite a history which has been carefully written up by Judge J. H. McKune, and was published in *Themis*, of October 5, 1889, which, as it is quite interesting, I will quote in full:

"It was cast at a foundry of the Russian government at St. Petersburg in 1804. It is 40 inches long, 3 1-2 inch bore; cast with two handles that two men can handle or carry it.

"This gun was presented by the Czar to the Russian American Company, and by that company to Captain Sutter, in December, 1841.

"It was one of the first guns mounted in the south-east bastion of Sutter's fort, and was used by Captain Sutter in firing a salute to the American flag hoisted over his fort at sunrise, July 4, 1846.

"It was taken from the fort, placed in the hands of Commodore Stockton, used by him as a field piece by his command in his advance from San Pedro to Los Angeles; did good service in the battle of San Pasqual, December 8, 1846, and again at Los Angeles, January 8 and 9, 1847.

"The gun was then transferred to Colonel Mason's command, First United States Dragoons, and was by

him returned to Captain Sutter after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and Captain Sutter presented it to the California Pioneers, at San Francisco, in the archives of which society it still remains.

"The gun has a chamber running to a point at the vent, and takes for a charge, eight ounces of powder."

CALIFORNIA CATTLE AND HORSES.

Up to the time the United States acquired California from Mexico, cattle of the bovine genus were greatly inferior in symmetrical beauty to the Durham and Devonshire and many other improved breeds that adorn the fertile vales and hillsides of California at the present time. The inferiority so significant in native California cattle can hardly be attributed to the quality of nourishment on which they subsisted. The wild burr-clover and the bunch-grass that grow so luxuriantly in California, rank with the most nutritious grasses to be found on the American continent. The native cattle were less heavy in the barrel than the domesticated cattle of Ohio, Indiana or any of the states that had flourished under American industries; they were lighter in the hindquarters and heavier in the shoulders in proportion to the entire weight. The choicest roast these cattle afforded was less juicy and delicious than that of a finer grade of cattle.

Early in the 50's, a distinction was made in beef; that from the States was called Eastern beef and sold at a higher price than native beef. Enterprise and energy soon changed the condition. Finer breeds were introduced to develop better proportions and salt was freely used to hasten a tamer and more domesticated appearance.

These wild cattle were vicious; and they still are when met. They recognized the superior prowess of the horse, ever extending to him the courtesy of a wide latitude. This fact insured a man's safety when on horseback. Seldom seeing a man except when a broncho was under him, they learned to regard him as a part of a horse, a sort of protuberance or hump. They learned also to regard the horse with six legs and a prodigious hump on his back, as the most formidable of equine foes.

Some of these native horses after having been ridden and otherwise handled for years, will, at a moment when least expected, and without giving any warning, give his rider a free and unique entertainment such as few men ever witnessed anywhere east of the Mississippi or is liable to see west of it until he sees a broncho. I have one good word to say for the wild horse: he is never known to strike with his fore feet the man who keeps beyond his reach.

THE COMING OF FREMONT.

Captain Fremont, in command of an exploring expedition sent out by the United States government, reached Sutter's Fort on the 6th day of March, 1843, in a distressed condition. Some time in November he left Fort Vancouver on his return trip to the United States. In passing over the mountains lying between Oregon and Sutter's Fort, he was overtaken and nearly overpowered by drifting snows. He and his men suffered untold hardships. The headway made by the party being so slow, the rations gave out long before they reached New Helvetia; the pack animals perished and the starving men wandered on with the prospect of death confronting them till reason, in some instances, wandered from her empire.

Fremont, being a strong, active and resolute man and possessing great powers of endurance, leaving his command, pressed on with dispatch to Sutter's Fort for relief. On being apprised of the distressed condition of the party Sutter packed a mule and sent some trusty Indians under orders to hasten to the rescue with the supplies. Fremont, whose gratification must have been as great as his surprise at finding Sutter surrounded with so many comforts, remained with his generous host till his men were recruited and his animals newly

shod. Sutter sold him a number of mules and horses. On the 24th of March the expedition took leave of the generous Sutter and set out for the United States.

The coming of Fremont to California when he did and as he did, has been a topic of some speculation. It is not my province to defend him on these pages; nor does he need defence. He was a military officer commissioned by the authorities of the United States and ordered beyond the Sierra mountains to perform certain duties. The orders under which he acted and the satisfaction his actions gave the Government, form the foundation on which a logical conclusion in regard to his mission in California must rest. He was the hero of heroes; loyal and faithful to the country he loved so well. That he acted in harmony with the prearranged plans of the Administration, is evidenced in the fact that his reports were endorsed by the President and his Cabinet. George Bancroft, the historian and statesman, manifested much interest in the exploring expeditions of Fremont. Especially was he pleased with whatever tended to hasten the honorable conquest of California. Being Secretary of War he ordered Fremont through Gillespie to keep in position to co-operate with the American fleet and help conquer California at the first intimation of war between the United States and Mexico.

Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, desiring to talk with Fremont about the West invited him to dine

at his house in Washington. Webster said San Francisco bay was worth more to the United States than all of Mexico. He said, however, he believed England would oppose Mexico in granting California to the United States after the Mexican War.

THE MILL.

Within the walls of the fort was a primitive mill for grinding barley and wheat. It was rather rudely constructed and, but for its being worked by mules instead of women, it would have been in line with the milling done by our very remote ancestors.

It was made by placing a large granite rock upon the ground, the top of which was dressed to a level surface; a similar rock was placed on top of this. To the upper stone was attached an arm or sweep by which means it was made to spin. Perhaps the word spin is not well chosen when applied to revolutions but three of which are made per minute. The motion being communicated by mules, and no gearing made available by the use of cogwheels or belts, a high rate of speed could hardly be expected. The mill-stones were quarried in the foothills of the Sierra mountains, under the direction of an Indian, and dressed and kept in repair by the same man who also made all of the flour. The mill had no bolt, the flour, middlings and bran being separated by means of a sieve.

The meal and flour made at this mill, although coarse, supplied a necessity and supplied it well, as those who have used flour from the "Digger Mill" affirm. No complaint was lodged against the bread, unless a lump larger than a bird's egg was encountered. There was graham bread galore! However it is hardly probable that the mill-men of Minneapolis will ever search for the remains of the "Digger Mill" with a view to throwing light on the milling possibilities of Minnesota.

THE DISTILLERY AND OTHER ENTERPRISES.

Sutter also erected a distillery in the fort, for the purpose of converting into an exhilarating beverage the wild grapes that grew abundantly along the Sacramento river and its tributaries. He made vinegar also from these grapes. He had a worm for running high wines. This enterprise he found it prudent to abandon. It was not very remunerative. Besides he experienced much difficulty in keeping the liquor from the Indians; or rather in keeping the Indians from the liquor. They appeared to be natural stills possessed of an automatic worm. They liked usquebaugh as Satan does sin. They declared they drank it first at the mission at San Jose, it having been given them by the holy friars. Squaws, I believe, are fonder of strong drink

than the warriors are; but they exercise better judgment about using it. The aborigines having an innate fondness for intoxicants, their appetite for it is easy to excite and hard to resist.

Other evidences of enterprise began to declare themselves by infusing tone and character into the settlement. A large tannery was built, where an extensive business was carried on with good financial results. In due time a ferry was established on the Sacramento river, and was attended by Indians, who, Sutter said, did good work and made faithful returns of the money received until they had mingled too long with the whites.

EXPLORATIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

Solicitous to extend his knowledge of that part of California over which he had legal jurisdiction, Sutter dispatched an exploring party under command of Rudolph Van Alstine with instructions to report on soil, timber, and the general appearance and magnitude of the streams, and also on the frequency of fur-bearing animals.

Van Alstine was a native of Holland and a man of excellent judgment, ever cool and resolute in an hour of danger. He explored the Eel and Pit rivers. Near to Sutter's heart was the ever cherished hope of col-

onizing some of his own countrymen on the western continent. This determination inspired his exploring proclivities. Hunting and trapping parties were also organized as auxiliary enterprises. Furs were in good demand, carrying a significant cash value but little affected by the expense of storage or transportation. From this branch of industry an income was realized. In this employment the "Tarheads" were at their best; but even in these pursuits they were excelled by those whites who possessed a fondness for the business.

In New Helvetia improvements rapidly advanced. The shops began to turn out American plows. Other agricultural implements, touched by the hands of genius, began to present a modern appearance; but still this branch of husbandry, like most all others in California, was greatly behind the times. There being but little available rail timber in New Helvetia, and as shipping fencing lumber from Norway, by way of Cape Horn, was slow, uncertain and expensive, the fields were enclosed with ditches. The ditches were dug and plowing, sowing and harrowing were done by Indians. Before American plows were made in the shops those used were but a trifle better than the one used by the prophet Elisha. They were specimens of rude workmanship, too awkward for description. One might fancy they were an insult to the virgin soil.

The season for seeding, like that for harvesting, extended over a long lapse of time. This condition was

highly favorable to pioneer life, especially where the actions of men were characterized by habitual inertness. It afforded a wide latitude for discretion, and for convenience as well. Wheat, oats and barley were grown successfully, and are yet, with a seed time ranging from the middle of August to the first of March. This grain (and the world grows no better) may stand a month or more, after having ripened, and deteriorate but little. This distinctive feature attending the growth and preservation of cereals in California is happily adjusted to the wants and conditions of man in pioneer life. Beneath a cloudless blue, of more than Italian loveliness, the farmer can leisurely plant and harvest.

The sight of a harvest field, on the Helvetia grant, with the laborers at work as they were in 1842-3, would be a treat to an up-to-date farmer of to-day. True, but few decades have rolled away since then, but they were decades of progress. Then, too, Captain Sutter was himself far behind the times in which he lived. In view of his environments what more could have been expected? Geographically he was remote from his fatherland and from all other civilized nations except Mexico and her province of California; both of which were fifty years in the rear of civilization. That Sutter was not well advised in the sciences of agricultural husbandry can be a surprise to no one. The fault does not lie at his door.

HARVESTING SIXTY YEARS AGO.

Let us in imagination saunter back to and take a look over a field embracing a thousand acres of golden grain all in readiness to dance to the music of a harvester as large as a Kansas cyclone, with four expert laborers riding it, cutting, thrashing and sacking one hundred acres of grain in a day. We shall see 250 Indians, some of whom are as wild as fancy, enter the grainfield. They are poorly clad, many of them being entirely naked and all illy equipped for the task at hand. There is brought into requisition a poor imitation of nearly ever kind of "armstrong" implements that have been used in the harvest field since Joseph stored the granaries of Egypt. Let us take in the exhibition. Here are scythes; look at them! They are heavy enough for the colter of a breaking-up plow. There are sickles; the "big Indian" can barely raise one from the ground with one hand. Here we come to a group of natives working with butcher-knives; over there are several who have each something resembling a sickle; they have been wrought by the Indians themselves from iron barrel hoops. Some pull the roots out of the ground and others break the dry and brittle straw with their hands.

One old Indian, whom some wit enriched with the

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euphonious title "Laban," has been a regular harvest hand on the Helvetia grant for years. Look at him; in size and strength he reminds one of Big Foot, the famous Wyandotte chief of long ago. He is six and a half feet tall and quite well proportioned and has a grave and impressive aspect. He has procured, by hook or crook, (presumably the former) from some stranded bark or antiquated ruins, an old scythe of Teutonic invention and colossal magnitude. To this he has attached a snath that is in close harmony with the scythe but of different origin, he having cut it from the underwood that clothed the banks of the Sacramento. When this tall, brawny and grim-looking patriarch enters the field with his harvester of Digger and Teutonic combination he reminds one of "Father Time."

By far the wildest and most novel scene was thrashing the grain. A harvest of wheat, sometimes the work of two or three weeks, was piled, from four to six feet high, on a hard smooth piece of ground protected by a high, strong fence inclosing a circular area. Into this inclosure, three or four hundred bronchos (wild horses) were turned to do the thrashing. This was a picnic for the Indians who drove them around the circle over the grain. When they had succeeded in getting them into a lively whirl, they dashed in front of them and, yelling as only wild Indians can, caused the frightened leaders to snort "down brakes," a signal well understood by the band, when every horse, in an

effort to halt, skated along with stiffened legs, turning the straw bottom side up. The bronchos were then made to circle as before. In this manner 2,000 bushels of grain were sometimes thrashed in an hour, leaving the straw broken almost into chaff.

Next came the winnowing, which was more tedious. A fanning mill was never seen in California till after that time. It took a month to winnow an hour's thrashing. It could be done only when the wind was blowing; and then by tossing shovelfuls of the mixture in the air, the wind blowing the chaff away, while the grain fell more vertically to the ground. Fortunately, in the locality of New Helvetia, there is a reversible breeze that blows, in the summer, with much regularity.

Captain Sutter also had a very good garden, including lettuce, carrots, parsnips, cabbage, peas and beans. The squaws irrigated the plants by dipping water from the bayou near the fort.

FLOGGING ADAM.

Sutter was informed, by some of his most reliable Indians, that Adam, an Indian of a neighboring tribe, had been stealing and driving off some of his horses. A squad of mounted men, all well armed, were sent after the offender, whom they captured at great risk and brought to the fort for trial. Sutter, who was ex-officio judge, jury and counsel, presided over the deliberations (chiefly his own) with as much dignity as the presiding officer displayed at the trial of Warren Hastings. The trial of Adam, if trial it were, was conducted in Spanish, it being the language commonly used in the settlement and throughout California at that time, and a competent interpreter was always in attendance at court proceedings. George McKinstry, who acted as clerk, swore the witnesses and examined them.

The Indian, who conducted his own case, was permitted to produce and examine witnesses in his own defense. But he had no witnesses to examine. The evidence against the prisoner was so clear and overwhelming that Sutter would have been justified, under the criminal code of the province, had he given him a death sentence. But he seldom went to the extreme of his authority, believing it better to do otherwise. Un-

derstanding the presence of formality to be sustaining to benevolence and virtue, he made the trial of Adam as formal as the environments would allow. The judge, jury and counsel (Sutter) sentenced the outlaw to thirty lashes of a lariat well laid on. There being no appeal from this court he was accordingly taken by the San Jose Mission Indians, lashed to a cannon and punished, as the sentence directed, by a stalwart Indian, who seemed to relish the recreation more than he who was receiving the castigation. The punished thief was then washed, fed and cared for until he was able to steal another horse and then dismissed.

Before pronouncing sentence on Adam, Sutter made a lengthy, informal speech in which he admonished the culprit to refrain thereafter from taking property that did not belong to him, with a solemn and unmistakable promise that if he were again caught stealing horses he would have the benefit of summary justice. This well-timed speech was delivered for a twofold purpose: It was a fitting lesson to the offending party and to the Indian spectators, of whom there were many.

Some of these Indians, to whom probity was a stranger, had been instructed by the holy fathers, at the missions, that it was wrong to steal, and that they would offend the Great Spirit if they did so, and accordingly be condemned for the offense in the court of shades and receive punishment in another world.

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The fathers, apprehensive that some of the long standing cases might not appear on the calendar for trial in the court referred to, delivered the punishment themselves, leaving the official sentence to be pronounced in the hereafter. There can be but little doubt that the miscreant, who knew but little about the "shady court," would rather have submitted his case to its chances in that "shady" court than to him whose displeasure was a certainty and whose lashes were certain to be well laid on.

INDIAN LABOR AND WAGES.

The wages the Indian received from Sutter were nominal, which was, as a rule, all their services were worth. In exchange for their labor he gave them barter consisting mostly of coarse blanketing for clothes; and brown cotton cloth and bandanas. The blanketing was made at the fort by squaws who learned to spin and weave at the Mission San Jose. The brown cotton cloth was valued at one dollar a yard and the bandanas were sold for twenty-five cents apiece. The Indians also purchased a great many beads.

Sutter circulated among them also a tin currency on which was stamped the number of days they had worked, it being a sort of receipt or due bill. This coin was circular in shape and about as large as a "Bungtown copper."

Indians in Sutter's employ fed on the offal of slaughtered animals and other corresponding delicacies. The cereal part of their viands was prepared from bran that was separated from the flour made at the "Digger Mill." This bran was eaten, I suppose, to avert indigestion and was boiled in large kettles, then placed in immense wooden trenchers arranged within the court. The Indians being seated on the ground around them scooped the delicious repast from the trenchers with their hands. Unbolted flour, as late as 1847, even before the gold excitement advanced the price, was worth \$8.00 per hundred pounds and wheat was \$2.00 per bushel. Mills being scarce, the price of flour remained high.

The Indians about New Helvetia were, as a rule, lazy and indolent, as they still are, with some exceptions, wherever met. They have about as much interest in their employer as a drunken man has in a town pump. The reputation of an American Indian is so well established, proof of my position were pleonastic. He, like everything else, is useful somewhere. He fills a niche in the world and perhaps fills it well. The dingy novices will not, can not, fill the place of a well-paid and well-fed laborer who has been nurtured in fields of industry. And yet the evidences of thrift in the colony were traceable to Indian agencies. When much labor was to be performed, a force commensurate was detailed to perform it. The absence of skill ade-

quate to construct and operate mechanical appliances, had to be supplied by an increase of native forces.

Captain Sutter often had three hundred Indians in his employ and sometimes many more. An average Green-Mountain boy, with a thin aquiline nose and a sharp projecting chin, if well paid, will perform more labor in one day than a "Tarhead" will in five, and do it better; especially if the performance require any tact.

THE CASTRO REBELLION.

In 1842 the Mexican authorities sent California a new governor in the person of Manuel Micheltorena, with 5,000 troops to subdue and dispossess Sutter, who, it had been reported in Mexico, defied their authority. On learning this, Sutter dispatched a courier with a well-timed letter written in French and sparkling with courtesy, to meet the governor before he reached the Capital City. In this letter he conveyed greeting, promised cheerful obedience to the law and entire submission to his authority. This brilliant diplomacy secured the good will of the new governor, with whom the Americans also, through Sutter, found favor.

In August, Micheltorena arrived at San Diego and assumed both civil and military command in California. Strong opposition to this appointee was early manifested by the Californians under the leadership

of General Jose Castro, and the disturbance growing out of the disaffection is, or at least should be, recognized in this story as the "Castro Rebellion."

Captain Sutter and Mr. Bidwell visited Micheltorena at Monterey, on which occasion the governor asked Sutter to aid him in putting down the rebellion, which he agreed to do. He made a bargain for his friends, however, before he set out on the campaign. He asked that every petition for land, on which he (Sutter), as justice, had favorably reported, should be no less binding than a formal grant. With this request the governor readily complied.

This rebellion was so far successful as to oust Micheltorena, and establish Pio Pico in his place, and Castro was appointed general. The deposed ruler was the best governor California ever had up to that time. Sutter has been unjustly censured for the action he took in support of him. Those who maligned him must have been prompted by the absence of magnanimity or they lacked a knowledge of his environments.

He was a Mexican citizen, having been naturalized by that government. He was also a civil and military officer. Had he joined the enemy he would have been treated as a rebel and his property would have been confiscable if the rebellion had been a failure.

Assured that the reader will enjoy General Sutter's own account of this affair, I will quote a few paragraphs from his journals. He says:

"In the fall of 1844 I went to Monterey with Major Bidwell and a few armed men (canallada & servants), as it was customary to travel at these times, to pay a visit to Gen'l Micheltorena. I had been received with the greatest civil and military honors. One day he gave a great Dinner. After Dinner all the Troupes were parading, and in the evening a baloon was sent to the higher regions, etc., etc.

"At the time it looked gloomy. The people of the Country was arming and preparing to make a Revolution, and I got some sure and certain information of the British consul and other gentlemen of my acquaintance, which I visited on my Monterey trip. They did not know that the General and myself were friends, and told and discovered me the whole plan, that in a short time the people of the Country will be ready to blockade the General and his troupes in Monterey, and then take him prisoner and send him and his soldiers back to Mexico, and make a Gov'r. of their own people, etc.

"I was well aware what we could expect, should they succeed to do this, they would drive us foreigners all very soon out of the Country, how they have done it once, in the winter 1839. Capt. Vioget has already been engaged by Castro & Alvarado to be ready with his vessel to take the General and his soldiers to Mexico.

"I had a confidential Conversation with Gen'l Mich-

eltorena, who received me with great honors and Distinction in Monterey, after having him informed of all what is going on in the Country, he took his measures in a Counsel of war in which I had been present. I received my Orders to raise such a large auxiliary as I possibly could and to be ready at his Order. At the same time I received some cartridges and some small arms, which I had shipped on board the Alert, and took a passage myself for San Francisco (or then Yerba Buena). If I had travelled by land, Castro would have taken me prisoner in San Juan, where he was lieing in Ambush for me. In Yerba Buena I remained only a few hours, as my Schooner was ready to receive me on board, having waited Ya. Ba. I visited the Officers of the Custom house and Castro's officers, which immediately after I left received an Order to arrest me, but I was under fair Way to Sacramento.

"After my Arrival at the fort, I began to organize a force for the regular General, Drill of the Indian Infanterie took place.

"The mounted Rifle company, about one hundred Men of all Nations, was raised, of which Capt. Gantt was the commander. As all was under fair way and well organized and joint with a Detachment of California Cavalry (which deserted from Vallejo), with music and flying Colors, on the 11th January, 1845, to join the General and comply with his Orders. Major

Reading was left with a small garrison of Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians as commander of the upper country.

“Castro had his headquarters in the Mission of San Jose; he did not expect us so soon, as he was just commencing to fortify himself, he ran away with his garrison; was collecting a stronger force, and wanted to March, but as he saw that I was on a good *que vive* for him, he left for Monterey to unite with the forces that was blockading the General and his troops in Monterey, and advanced or runed to the lower Country to call or force the people there to take arms against the government. On the Salinas, near Monterey, the General was encamped, and with our united force, about 600 Men (he left a garrison in Monterey), we pursued the enemy, and had to pursue him down to Los Angeles, the first encounter we had with the enemy was at Buena Ventura, where we attacked him and drove them out of their comfortable quarters. While at and near Santa Barbara, a great many of soldiers of my division deserted; over 50 men of the Mounted Rifles, the detachment of California Cavalry deserted and joined their Countrymen, the ribells, likewise a good number of the Mexican Dragoons.

“Near San Fernando (Mission) the enemy occupied a fine position and appeared in full strength, joined by a company of American Traders coming from Sonora, and another company of the same consisting of trad-

ers and trappers; and the whole force of the enemy was over 1,000 Men, well provided with everything, and our force has been no more as about 350 or 375 men, and during the battle of Cavenga, near San Fernando, the balance of the Mounted Riflemen in the artillery deserted, and myself fell in the hands of the enemy, and was taken prisoner, and transported to Los Angeles.

“A few days after this the General, surrounded by the enemy, so that he could nothing more get to eat and capitulated; and after the necessary documents were signed by both parties, the General was allowed to march, with Music and flying colors, to San Pedro, where some vessels were ready to take him and troops aboard; and after having delivered their guns, etc., proceeded up to Monterey to take the remaining garrison, the family of the General, and his private property, likewise the family of some of the officers. This was the End of the reign of General-Governor Manuel Micheltorena.

“The new government, under Governor Pio Pico and General Castro, etc., had the intention to shoot me; they were of the opinion that I had joined General Micheltorena voluntarily, but so soon as I could get my baggage and my papers, I could prove and show by the orders of my general that I have obeyed his orders, and done my duty to the legal government. And so I was acquitted with all honors,

and confirmed in my former offices as military commander of the northern frontier, with the expressed wish that I might be so faithful to the new government as I had to General Micheltorena."

Pio Pico, who had thus, through the agency of the Castro Rebellion in 1845, seized the reins of government and overthrown Mexico's regularly appointed governor, Micheltorena, on September 3, of the same year, was himself appointed constitutional governor by the President ad interim of Mexico.

The foregoing extract may direct the reader to the conclusion that the fame of our hero did not rest exclusively on his ability as a linguist. It shows the action of a great mind struggling with a language he could not master. His associations here aided him but little in acquiring a knowledge of good English. Having passed the thirtieth milestone on the thoroughfare of life when he left Switzerland, his attention had ceased to be allured by the charms of foreign languages.

THE FORT COMPLETED.

Captain Sutter finished his fort in 1844, during which year emigrants from the United States came over the mountains in parties increasing in strength and frequency. Some of them came direct to Sutter's Fort and some went first to Oregon, thence to California. Whoever visited California from any spot on earth, made the fort his objective point, its owner being renowned for his hospitality and pleasing address.

CARRIAGES.

At the time of the gold discovery wagons were a convenience wholly unknown in California, carts being used for freighting and for pleasure riding and were made in the following manner: From a large white oak log wheels were made by cutting blocks about ten inches long and so shaped that the rim was six or eight inches thick and so tapering as to have the wheel at the center (the hub) ten inches or a foot. A hole four or five inches in diameter was bored and gouged to receive the axle to which the deltoid end of a huge pole was attached. The bottom of the box was made of raw bullock hides. These carts were very

useful and by being kept under shelter lasted very well. The granite mill-stones in Sutter's mill were hauled on one of them from the Sierra mountains. Strong soapsuds were used for lubricating. The groaning of one of those carts, when the spindles were dry, could be heard a great distance. This being about the time the Millerites were at the zenith of their glory, the unique music of those carts might have been mistaken for the final trump.

The first wagon ever seen in California was presented by a Boston merchant to Alvarado, the provincial governor. It was built for a pleasure carriage and after the most approved model of the times. No harness was sent with it. The presentee and his associates, never having seen a span of horses hitched to a carriage, were thrown upon their inventive genius. The governor, being possessed of the carriage, was inclined to utilize it. Two mounted vaqueros, one on each side of the pole, each with a lariat, one end of which was made fast to the pommel of the saddle and the other end secured to the pole, sought through their spirited steeds, to communicate the desired motion to the carriage, but with no means of checking the speed to which it might attain, the braking being left to the genius of fate, the resistance of air and the power of gravitation.

During this memorable drive, perhaps I should say ramble, up hill and down, here and there, dashing

and fetching up like a patent snaffle, the carriage, as if to explore as much of the country as possible, inspected every rut and every other obstruction along the thoroughfare, even veering five or six feet, at times, to procure a set-to with a feldspar or granite boulder that reared its aged head by the wayside. Sometimes the governor was on his seat and sometimes on his head. His personal agility would have dissipated the ostentatious show of a professional acrobat. The dashboard, which was of wood and of liberal proportions, looked like a Norman guideboard of centuries ago, standing by a frontier highway and directing crusaders to the "Holy Land." The spirited equines, mistaking its use and supposing it to be a cavalry target, entertained themselves, if not the governor, by taking random shots at it with their heels.

The carriage, having been made in New England where Holmes made the famous "One Hoss Shay," endured the ramble remarkably well. Out of respect for the giver, the governor ordered it placed under cover, where its remains may be seen to this day.

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ECHOES OF CIVILIZATION.

Unwieldy as those pioneer utilities were, New Helvetia awoke to the echoes of civilization and enterprise blossomed like the rose.

In monarch pride Chanticleer piped his five-noted clarion as he led his speckled harem from the tule-covered shed; the mellow chimes of the bell floated on the vaporless air of morning; the Indian plow-boy divided his anathemas between the sullen bovine that lugged but indifferently at the distant relative of a plow, and the handles that beat a tattoo on his sensitive ribs. The Indian, in his primeval state, could harbor malediction all right, but his language was barren of profanity until elegant expressions were grafted into it by Christianized races.

EXECUTION OF RAPHERO.

In the summer of 1845 a courier brought word to Sutter that Castro and some jealous Spaniards at San Jose had incited the Indians to attack the settlement at New Helvetia, burn the grain which was then ready for the harvester, and, if possible, take the life of Sutter. Some of the more selfish and narrow-minded

Californians of whom Castro was a reputed member, had looked upon him (Sutter) as a foreign invader



RAPHERO.

whose growing strength might some day enable him to defy their authority.

Evidences of dissatisfaction had appeared on several occasions and the prevailing discontent had finally ripened into hostility. Raphero, a well-known Mokelumne chief, was in command of the mercenary Indians who were ordered to destroy life and property and who were marching three hundred strong upon the settlement. The celebrated chief in command was an anomaly. Few men as brave as he, are so treacherous and unworthy of confidence. Usually men of great courage have a warm, tender and kind place in their hearts. Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon and our own General Thomas were, at times, as tender as a flower. In bravery this chief ranked with King Philip and Tecumseh. But they displayed an associated beauty of oratory, bravery and statesmanship that command the admiration of the world, while his only virtue was physical courage.

Sutter had given Raphero, on a former occasion, a token of friendship and good will by presenting him with a fine horse and saddle. But the Spaniards in the interest of Castro, for ready pay or rich promises, undoubtedly the latter, these being their principal stock in trade, induced him to undertake a task they had not the courage to perform.

Knowing the energy and cunning of the enemy, Sutter resolved upon prompt action. A few brave men, whites and Indians under command of Kit Carson, the banks of Mokelumne river. After a spirited en-

camped in a stronghold in the thick brush that skirted the bank of Mokelumne river. After a spirited engagement in which the enemy lost severely, the whites, having exhausted their ammunition and being unable to dislodge the enemy, withdrew from the field, leaving them free to skulk amid the ragged chaparral. Sutter said his men left the field very leisurely that the Indians might think his retreat was not a necessity.

There was a Son of Erin in Carson's command and a fine, jolly fellow he was, too. His hat was quite high in the crown, through which a ball passed just above his head while in the engagement. After having returned to the Fort he related the circumstances, declaring that, had his hat been low-crowned, the ball would have entered his brain.

The chief who commanded the warriors in the campaign against New Helvetia, it was alleged a few months later, had killed his brother-in-law. On this charge he was arrested, brought to the fort, and was tried for murder. Sutter had learned, through lessons clearly demonstrated, to look upon Raphero with distrust and to regard him as a dangerous man. Now, since his flagrant violation of law, he (Sutter) resolved to give him a fair and impartial trial and to punish or acquit him according to the evidence. The trial was conducted in Spanish, an interpreter being employed when necessary. Sutter had been duly appointed Alcalde (justice) in and for the northern dis-

district of California by the Mexican government, which clothed him with authority in his district to arrest at will all criminals, to try and to condemn or acquit them, and to try and to determine all civil cases.

Raphero, who spoke Spanish with some fluency, conducted his own case. The situation would have been painfully embarrassing to almost any one but him. Far from his tribe, he must be tried for homicide before a judge whose grain he had sought to destroy and against whose life he had conspired. He denied the allegation, arguing in support of his innocence that he held a lieutenant's commission under the Mexican government, and that by virtue of his commission he was clothed with authority to punish for stealing in his district, that the penalty fixed by law for stealing a horse was death, and that his brother-in-law was a horse thief. This position was well taken and ably argued; but unfortunately the chief was unable to prove the slain man to have been a horse thief, and he was unable also to produce his commission; in fact it was doubtful whether he ever possessed one.

He met his fate with the coolness and bravery that characterized his behavior all through life, walking to the place of execution with a haughty and dignified bearing. When the men who were detailed to perform the last act in this unpleasant affair, were ready to proceed, a mule appeared in range with their guns, causing a momentary delay. Noticing this, but not knowing

the cause, the chief turned towards the gunners and exclaimed :

“Why don’t you shoot—are you afraid?”

Thus closed the career of a chief and warrior whose influence for evil at home and disturbance abroad, and whose insidious artifice, daring and treachery, combined in making him an object much to be dreaded, and whose freedom imperiled the life and property of every white settler within the plane of his orbit. His scalp was nailed over the main gateway of the Fort, where his long black hair became the sport of the breezes.

FREMONT AT HAWK’S PEAK.

In the fall of 1845, Captain Fremont started on his third and last exploring expedition under the authority of the United States Government. He went out on this expedition by the head waters of the Arkansas to the south side of the Great Salt Lake, and thence directly across the Central Basin towards California.

Desiring to court the good-will of the Mexican authorities in California, he went to Monterey, where he met Mr. Larkin, the United States Consul, who accompanied him in waiting upon Governor Micheltona and Castro the commanding general. These officials being the leading authorities of the country, he communicated to them his object in coming into California. He assured them that he had not a single

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soldier of the United States Army in his party and that his mission was peaceful. He asked permission to winter in the country, recruit his company and continue his explorations, all of which being duly granted he repaired to San Jose where his party awaited him. Here he remained several weeks.

Soon after the provincial government granted him permission to winter in California, Castro received orders to drive him out of the country or send him a prisoner to Mexico. These orders were not made known to Fremont until a long time afterwards. He had, however, observed certain movements which he thought presented an unfriendly aspect. His reception at Monterey, but a few weeks before, had been so cordial he ventured with reserve to impugn Castro's motive. Environments grew daily more inauspicious until Fremont was at length met by an officer who handed him a letter from Castro and who had a detachment of eighty dragoons apparently to enforce his message. The letter, which bore no explanation, ordered Fremont to leave the country without delay. Instead of quitting the country as Castro demanded he marched to a lofty hill called *Hawk's Peak whence he had a commanding view of the surrounding country.

Larkin informed Fremont by communication that preparations were being made to attack him. The following is Fremont's reply:

* Since called Fremont's Peak in honor of the "Pathfinder."

"My Dear Sir: I this moment received your letters and without waiting to read them acknowledge the receipt, which the courier requires immediately. I am making myself as strong as possible, in the intention that if we are unjustly attacked, we will fight to extremity and refuse quarter, trusting to our country to avenge our death. No one has reached our camp, and from the heights we are able to see troops (with the glass) mustering at St. John's and preparing cannon. I thank you for your kindness and good wishes, and would write more at length as to my intentions did I not fear that my letter would be intercepted. We have in nowise done wrong to the people or the authorities of the country; and, if we are hemmed in and assaulted here, we will die, every man of us, under the flag of our country.

Very truly yours.

J. C. Fremont.

"P. S.—I am encamped on the top of the Sierras at the head waters of a stream which strikes the road to Monterey at the house of Don Joaquin Gomez.

"Thomas O. Larkin, Esq. Consul for the United States at Monterey."

Fremont threw up a breastwork, raised a flagstaff forty feet high on the highest point, and unfurled the Stars and Stripes. After several days, Castro venturing no attack, Fremont withdrew from Hawk's Peak, moving leisurely by way of San Joaquin valley

to Sutter's Fort, whence he set out in a few days for Oregon. The fires were still burning in his camp when a messenger arrived from General Castro to propose cessation of hostilities. Castro was afraid Fremont would break some of his crockery.

BLACK EAGLE.

About the last of April the United States sloop of war brought Lieut. Gillespie of the Marine Corps from Mazatlan with dispatches for Capt. Fremont, who was on the exploring expedition (just mentioned) in California, and who, in consequence of opposition from the jealous and narrow-minded Castro, had set out from Sutter's Fort on a journey to Oregon before Gillespie's arrival. At the fort Gillespie was furnished with animals and a guide which were to be returned to Sutter when the party arrived at Peter Lassen's place. At this place fresh horses and more men were hired and the journey resumed in haste, Gillespie hoping to overtake Fremont before he reached the mountains. But the "Pathfinder," who, through intuition and experience, had become expert in traveling roadless countries, moved so rapidly it was doubtful whether he could be overtaken before he penetrated far into Oregon.

Gillespie encountered a party of Indians belonging to the Klamath tribe, who were encamped on a river

bank and engaged in salmon fishing. These Indians were thieving and treacherous and especially hostile to the whites, whom they called "Boston men." They had strong bows, which in their dextrous hands would send one of their large steel-headed arrows more than a hundred yards and penetrate three inches into a tree. They shot very rapidly and with remarkable accuracy. Some of the arrowheads were made of obsidian. Those made of steel had been purchased of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver.

On this occasion the Indians showed no signs of hostility but behaved quite to the contrary. Black Eagle, the chief, with a smile and a "howdy," assisted the party in crossing the stream. Gillespie's horses, from having been almost constantly urged by whip and spur to a high rate of speed, looked as though they were preparing to pay off a mortgage the crows held on their carcasses.

Believing it to be his only chance to succeed, he dispatched Sam Neal, an expert mountaineer of great hardihood and daring, on one of his fleetest horses, under orders to overtake Fremont if possible. None but a strong and courageous man could have made the ride. His passage through a narrow defile in the mountain was disputed by a party of Indians. Revere, to whom we acknowledge obligations, says Neal took the bridle reins in his teeth and fired his rifle and pistols to port and starboard amongst them, and received in turn a

volley of arrows which, luckily, did him no harm. Escaping his pursuers, he reached Fremont's camp and fell from his horse exhausted, having barely strength to describe the situation of Gillespie. Fremont ordered some good coffee served him while more substantial food was in preparation.

On learning the perilous situation of Gillespie, Fremont, taking with him Kit Carson, one Canadian, and seven Delaware Indians, every one of whom in bravery and a knowledge of Indian warfare was the peer of any man that ever lived, started on the back trail to the relief of Gillespie, whose camp he reached in the early twilight.

After supper the party talked by the campfire till a late hour and then imprudently went to sleep without establishing sentinels. The first sleep of the night, which is said to be sweetest, was of short duration. Carson's quick ear caught a thud-like sound which instantly brought him to his feet, when he saw the camp alive with Indians, and the sound that awoke him was produced by a tomahawk crashing into the brain of a brave, trusty Delaware.

The Indians immediately raised the war-whoop, which was returned by Carson and the remaining Delawares. The Klamaths, after being severely punished, all sought refuge in flight, except one who fought with the spirit of desperation, dodging from side to side under cover of night, screaming like a

panther to deceive his enemy as to the number and location of his warriors and at the same time hurling his shafts with the rapidity of thought. One of Fremont's men went to the light of the fire to examine the lock of his gun, when Carson coolly remarked to Fremont: "See that cussed fool." The desperate Indian finally "bit the dust," and was found to be the same chief who assisted Gillespie in crossing the stream two days before.

Two of the Delawares who mourned the loss of their brave comrade, obtained permission of Fremont to remain in camp awhile after the party had set out for Sutter's Fort. After Fremont was well out of camp, he halted that he might be overtaken by the men whom he left with Neal the day before, and also by the Delawares who remained concealed near the scene of the night attack. On hearing a few rifle reports in the direction of the camp, the party started back, only to meet the two Delawares on a brisk pace, each with the warm scalp of a Klamath warrior.

After punishing the tribe for their behavior by burning their village, the party returned to Fort Sutter. Black Eagle was tall and well proportioned and ranked with the higher type of Digger Indians. He was strong and athletic, being a fast runner and able to throw down any one of his tribe. He could execute a running jump nearly twenty feet. He was also an orator.

In relating the circumstances of this night attack Fremont said it was the second instance in his official career in the West that he had encamped without the protection of a sentinel. On that night, he said, just before spreading his blanket, he went to a meadow near at hand, as was his custom, where his mules were grazing, to see their condition and especially to see if they were quiet and inclined to rest, or if they showed signs of uneasiness, with their attention frequently arrested and attracted in any particular direction; for mules, he said, are natural and expert detectives. He left them quietly feeding and returned to his camp, and all being tired, went to sleep without the protection that prudence, at such a time and place, would have dictated.

THE WEB-FOOT STORY.

In 1846 there resided at the fort a good-natured, unsuspecting fellow, who was born in Pike county, Missouri, and whose short-handled name was "Bob." He had heard many glowing reports of the Willamette valley, in Oregon, and had partially arranged matters to go there and make himself a home. Isaac Spiker, a jolly man who relished a joke hugely and who had lived in Oregon, but was at this time sojourning at the fort, said to the Piker: "Bob, you'll not get me to go to Oregon and live with them web-feet, no how.

I've tried it wonst an' I say, Bob, you'd better take some of my advice while its cheap, an' let well enough alone."

"I say, Spiker," said Bob, "why do they call them thar as lives in Oregon, web-feet?"

Spiker, when a boy, scalded one of his feet so seriously that when the sore healed, his toes consolidated. Now was presented a rare opportunity. "Bob," Spiker replied, "after a man lives in Oregon awhile his toes grow together from foot to nail, and that is why he is called a web-foot."

"Spiker," said Bob, "I don't believe that thar yarn, no how;" whereupon Spiker drew off one of his boots and exhibited a genuine web-foot, and no mistake about it. "Bob," looking greatly surprised, exclaimed, "By G—d I'll never go to that thar d—d country."

EXTRACTS FROM SUTTER'S DIARY.

Realizing that readers will be glad to meet anything from Sutter's pen I here insert, by way of recapitulation, an extract from his diary: "Left the State of Missouri (Where I has resided for many years) on the 11th a April 1838, and travelled with the party of Men Under Captain Tripps, of the Amer. fur Company to their Rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains (wind river

valley) from there I travelled with six brave men to Oregon as I considered myself not strong enough to cross the Sierra Nevada and go direct to California (which was my intention from my first start) on having got some information from a Gent'n in New Mexico, who has been in California.

“Under a good Many Dangers and other Troubles I have passed the Different forts or trading posts of the Hudsons Bay Company and arrived at the Mission at the Dalls on Columbia River. From this place I crossed right strait through thick & thin and arrived to the great astonishment of the inhabitants. I arrived in 7 days in the valley of the Willamette, while others with good guides arrived only in 17 previous my crossing. At fort Vancouver I has been very hostibly received and invited to pass the Winter with the Gentlemen of the Company, but as a Vessel of the Compy was ready to Sail for the Sand wich Islands, I took a passage in her in hopes to get soon a passage from there to California, but 5 long Months I had to wait to find an Opportunity to leave but not direct to California except far out of my way to the Russian American Colonies on the North West cost to Sitka the Residence of the Gov'r (Lat. 57) I remained one Month there and delivered the Cargo of the Brig Clementine as I had charge of the Vessel, and then sailed down the Coast in heavy Gales and entered in Distress in the Port of San Francisco, on

2d of July 1839. An Officer and 15 soldiers come on board and ordered me out saying that Monterey is the Port of entry, & at last I could obtain 48 hours to get provisions (as we were starving) and some reparings done on the Brig.

"In Monterey I arranged my fairs with the Custum House, and presented myself to Govr Alvarado, and told him my intention to Settle here in this Country, and that I have brought with me 5 White Men and 8 Kanacas (two of them married) 3 of the White men were Mechanics, he was very glad to hear that, and particularly when I told him, that I intend to Settle in the interior on the banks of the river Sacramento. because the Indians there at this time would not allow White and particularly of the Spanish to come near them, and was very hostile and stole the horses from the inhabitants, near San Jose. I got a general passport for my small colony and permission to select a Territory wherever I would find it convenient, and to come in one years time again in Monterey to get my citizenship and the title of the Land, I have done so, and not only this, I received a high civil Office (Representante del Governo en las fronteras del Norte y encargado de la justicia).

"When I left Yerba buna (now San Francisco) after having leaved the Brig and dispatched her back to the S. I. I bought several small boats (Launches) and chartered the Schooner "Isabella" for my Explor-

ing Journey to the inland Rivers and particularly to find the Mouth of the River Sacramento, as I could find Nobody who could give me information, only that they knew that some very large Rivers are in the interior.

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“Augt. 17th 1840. The men who crossed with me the Rocky Mountains with two others had a chance to come from Oregon on board an Amer. Vessel which landed them at Bodega, at the time occupied by the Russians.

“When they told the Russian Governor that they wanted to join me, he reived them very kindly and hospitably, furnishing them with fine horses, new Saddles etc at a very low rate and gave them directions whereabouts they would have to travel without being seen by some Spaniards, which would have taken them to Sonoma in the prison and after a many difficulties they found me at last, I was of course very glad having these men again with me, and employed, and so I became strong at once.

“October 18th 1841, party of comodore Wilks Exploring Squadron, arrived from Oregon by land, consisting of the scientific corps, a few Naval Officers, Marines Soldiers and Mountaineers as guides under command of Lieut. Emmons. I received them so well as I could, and then the Scientific left by land for San

Jose and the Naval Officers & Marines I dispatched them on board of one of my vessels.

"March 6th 1842. Capt. Fremont arrived at the fort with Kit Carson, told me that he was an Officer of the U. S. and left a party behind in Distress and on foot.

"The few surviving Mules was packed only with the most necessary, I received him politely and his Company likewise as an old acquaintance. the next Morning I furnished them with fresh horses and a Vaquero with a pack Mule loaded with Necessary supplies for his men. Capt. Fremont found in my Establishment everything what he needed that he could travell without Delay, he could have not found it so by a Spaniard perhaps by a great many and with losing a great deal of time. I sold him Mules horses and young steers or Beef cattle, all the Mules and horses got Shoed, on the 23d March, all was ready and on the 24 he left with his party for the U. States.

"As an Officer of the Govt. it was my duty to report to the Govt that Cap. Fremont arrived. Genl. Micheltorena dispatched Lieut. Col. Telles (afterwards Gov. of Sinaloa) with Capt. Lieut. and 25 Dragoons, to inquire what Captain Fremont's business was her, but he was en route as the arrive only on the 27th, from this time on Exploring Hunting & Trapping parties has been started, at the same time Agriculture & Mechanical business was progressing from year to

year, and more Notice has been taken to my establishment, it became even a fame, and some early Distinguished Travelers like Doctor Sanders Wasnessensky & others, Captains of Trading Vessels & Super Car-goes & even Californians (after the Indians was subdued) came and paid me a visit, and was astonished to see what far work of all kinds had been done. Small Emigrant parties arrived and brought me some very valuable men, with one of those was Major Bidwell he was about 4 years in my employ. Major Reading and Major Hensley with 11 other brave men arrived alone, both of these Gentlemen has been 2 years in my employ, with these parties excellent mechanics arrived which was all employed by me, likewise good farmers immediately Amer. ploughs was made in my Shops and all kind of work done &c &c.

“New Helvetia 15th July 1845.

“James Alex. Forbes Esq.

“Dear Sir—I take the liberty to ask you for a favour, that is if you would be kind enough to have a conversation with the snores Barnal (brothersinlaw of Senor Sunol) about my Debt.—Sor Sunol wrote to me that he gave over this affaire entirely in their Hands, and that they wanted to go below with a Representation to the Government and if they would not succede that they would request their brother in Mexico to

push on this affaire. I wrote to Sor Sunol that it would be a great Deal better to arrange it in another way, he wrote me that they would accept Wheat, but it is not possible this year that I could let them have Wheat, having an engagement with the Russians and the Hudsons Bay Cy. I was surprised that they would be very willing to take Wheat, formerly nothing as Cash or Cattle would satisfy them, and other Articles which I have some time offered to take on account they would take them. Now if this gentlemen are willing to take the next Year nearly the whole amount in Wheat, I shall be able to pay them in this Article, because I am making great preparations for raising a very large and sure Crop, by all means I will have in the American fork a Dam, so that I shall be able to water my Wheatfields this and employing all the experience which I have now with the soil and Climat, a very large and good Crop must be raised. I intend to sow here 600 fanegas and on feather River 150 or if possible 200 fanegas, if I succeed this time then I will be out all of my trouble, to conduct this business well, occupies me often whole nights, nothing shall this time be neglected, that I am once deliberated from all my troubles.

“I know that if you would represent them my situation, and use your influence a little by these Gentlemen I am convinced that they would be willing to Wait till the next year.

“The Wheat will be the next year in greater demand than this year, and over this we will have a home market, when all these troops from Mexico are here and the great number of Emigrants the Russians would take every year 4 four hundred townships full of Wheat, because their Colonies are increasing; I shall not rest until I shall be able to furnish them every Year about 15 or 20,000 fanegas and this will be sure when I can water my fields.—I have news that my trapping party is doing well.

“Perhaps you will have a chance to see these Gentlemen in Yerba Buena, perhaps a few lines from you would answer to advise them to let me one Year more without trouble. I beg your pardon that I take so much liberty and trouble you with such affaires. For this service I shall be very recoinnoissant and remember it forever.

“I have the Honor to be Dear Sir: with entire respect your most Obedient Servant J. A. Sutter.”

THE BEAR FLAG REVOLUTION.

The importance of this revolution cannot be even approximately estimated by the amount of sorrow inflicted or treasure expended. When we read of war, we think of blood being shed, of unknown graves being filled, and other causes of sorrow. Vultures and wolves, we fancy, follow the trails of carnage to prey upon the slain. This revolution raises the curtain on a more humane scene. In this conflict but little blood was shed, but little sorrow or misery inflicted.

A lurking disposition to revolutionize had pervaded the minds of the Americans and of some of the better class of Californians for some time. The affairs of government hastily closed the period of incubation and the progeny declared itself by the presence of actual existence.

The Californians being dissatisfied with the government Mexico had been giving them, had several times rebelled against the parent country. They had now become jealous of the thrifty Russians, which condition aggravated their unrest. Mexico was free from Spanish rule and California sought to be free from Mexican rule. This revolution had been slow in forming, but recent events greatly accelerated its growth.

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THE STATUS OF MEXICO.

The moral obliquity and the intellectual and physical inertness of the Mexican people and the selfishness and tyranny of the military and civil officers had reduced Mexico to the lowest degradation and infamy. The sun never shone on a more beautiful country and the god of nature never dispensed favors to a greater degree than on this unfortunate country. Notwithstanding these natural advantages, Mexico, from certain causes, some of which are evident, was at this time the meanest and lowest in the category of nations. Her people, despite the fact that Mexico had been free from Spain since 1822, were yet ruled with an iron rod, ground beneath an iron heel, and were sunk in political imbecility. Her military rulers were the most despotic and mercenary that ever exercised power by legal authority, or wore insignia. Through the natural effects of successive insurrections and revolutions all confidence in the justice and stability of the government was gone. She was without an army, without a navy, without revenue and without money. There existed a never-ending struggle among designing politicians to attain to the management of administrative business. Since that time Mexico has been slowly drifting into a better channel.

Being unable to govern herself, she was illy prepared to govern her foreign province well and acceptably. Men aspired to the provincial governorship of California, and to minor offices, through the prospect of an opportunity for an unholy coercion and for plunder.

The Californians, whether by birth or adoption, had grown tired of the injustice and extravagance of these appointees, a fact made evident by the unsettled condition of the country. This condition had existed more than forty years prior to the Bear Flag revolution, although the spirit of rebellion was quite general, and those who entertained it were ready to leap when a safe landing was presented. Some feared that the revolution, if inaugurated then, would be indiscreet and premature.

Had the revolutionary party been made up of Lacedæmonians (and many of its members were as brave) representing Spartan ideas of patriotism, they would have had more confidence in their ability to maintain their independence. But California was then, as it long remained, a general dumping ground for the world and contained some specimens of mankind that almost any country could well spare. Some had roved over the world merely actuated by the romance incident to roving; some were sailors who, in arriving in port, took an informal conge of their Cap'n; some were fugitives for whom the sheriff they left behind

had a neck-tie; some were hunters and trappers who looked wild and seedy, but who were actually gentlemen born, and some were God's noblemen. First in this class was the immortal Sutter.

The revolutionary party being cosmopolitan with no recognized ties of consanguinity strengthened and endeared by the scenes of childhood to bind them to the land of their adoption, just how far their valor or the spirit of heroism would lead them was easier to conjecture than accurately to estimate. The greatest number of foreigners were American, with whom the native Californians were not much in love. Their thrift and enterprise excited the envy of the Mexicans and their prowess awoke their jealousy.

"THE BRONCHO BUSTER."

The young man of California birth is essentially a young Californian. His personality is as distinctive of himself as the tide is of the sea. He is almost as fond of horseback exploits as woman is of gossip, and he classes with the finest equestrians in the world. He who prides himself on his reputation as an expert rider and who breaks wild horses for other people is called a broncho buster, a title used in western colloquy. He is a good-hearted man, and a useful man in a neighborhood, being possessed of remark-

able pluck, proverbial daring and plenty of vanity. The more genuine cussedness the broncho displays, the more he pleases the buster. The rider wanted up to Sutter's time, as he still wants, a Spanish saddle of fifty pounds weight and valued at fifty dollars, United States gold coin. He would have a bridle, Spanish of course, with a bit of powerful leverage. To the center of this bit, a wheel must be so adjusted as to twirl at the touch of the animal's tongue. In manipulating this wheel the animal soon displays as much adroitness as a three-card monte man does in playing his game on a barrel head. The action of the wheel excites in the animal a restless spirit and a frothy mouth, both of which are food for the buster's vanity. The reins, to meet the demand, must be of black and white horse hair braid and chain interstices to suit the taste. These reins, to be in harmony with the buster's idea of elegance, should cross between the bit and the animal's breast. This bridle must cost eleven dollars and fifty cents. The buster's pedal members to be in keeping with gracefulness must be shoved into a pair of boots whose heavily fringed tops reach a little above the knees. The heels must be garnished with a pair of spurs worth twelve dollars in Timbuctoo, Hangtown or Last Chance.

The broncho is the last thing considered by the buster in his equestrian equipage. And yet, he loves him as a grandee loves the gout; and he must under no

circumstances cost his rider less than five dollars Mexican currency. To be a favorite the steed must display the following characteristics: He must be as tough as a Waverly beefsteak, as wild as a cyclone and as vicious as criminal law. Of these and other like qualities he is usually possessed. The more of them he displays the nearer he approaches the buster's ideal of a horse.

When, in the act of mounting, the rider's foot touches the stirrup the horse is required to leap straight up three feet or more, turn half way around in mid air and land stiff-legged while his gallant rider is vaulting into the saddle. The saddle is secured, about midway from withers to crupper, by the affectionate ties of a "mortal cinch." The animal's equator is so far contracted as to give his body the appearance of an old-fashioned pair of saddle-bags. When the rider is seated, the horse pursues a zigzag course, as asses do when running for office, and keeping his head near the ground bellows like a frenzied steer.

On state occasions the rider when at his best, is himself uniquely attired. The brim of his sombrero is as broad as the views of a freethinker, and like a politician, sways to the popular breeze. This sombrero is encircled with a cord, somewhat smaller than a sea-grass clothesline, a quantity or more of which hangs over the brim. These pendants are embellished with princely tassels. The collar button of his fanciful

shirt is but little above his waistband. His zone, which is heavy enough for a tug, is adorned with a brace of pistols. He is as good as Grover Cleveland or Theodore Roosevelt. He is a man. What more are they?

Through some mysterious agency I have wandered, on a tangent, afar from the whirl of revolution. If the reader will pardon this digression we will return to the thread of our narrative leading up to the inauguration of the Bear Flag revolution.

THE JUNTA.

A short time prior to this inauguration, a junta convened at Monterey, by order of Don Pico; ostensibly to adjust some intestine affairs, but in reality to consider the condition of the country and to discuss measures relating to the union of California with some foreign power, under whose auspices her people might hope for protection. The Spaniards and native Californians had recently been in rebellion against the authorities of the Mexican government; had ousted Governor Micheltorena, a Mexican appointee, sending him and his satraps back to Mexico; and had elected Pio Pico, one of their own men, civil governor, and Jose Castro commander-in-chief.

Pico harangued the junta at some length, declaring that Mexico would not protect them in their rights,

but that every move she made in ruling them was calculated to discover to men of reflective intelligence the deplorable condition to which Mexico and her dependencies were reduced.

The parent country, he said, was in a condition less enviable than that of their own; and that to be brought in touch with that degraded nation would rivet more firmly their bonds of serfdom and serve as a barrier to any power that might dispose to interfere on their behalf. He said they were not in condition to maintain their independence openly against the mother country without aid from some foreign power. The d—d immigrants, he insisted, were scaling the great Sierras with their prairie schooners and settling themselves in the fertile regions of the Sacramento, and the seers of Holy Writ, were they among them, could not divine what they would undertake next; but whatever it might be they would be likely to accomplish it. With their most excellent rifles and superior marksmanship they could kill an antelope as far as they could see him with a field-glass. They were a band of Nimrods, brave as lions, industrious as beavers and as mobile as wild-cats. It was a question whether California was able to repel these self-invited guests, and drive them from their dominion. He favored selling out for English or French gold with a stipulation that the officers retain their posi-

tions, and that individual rights be respected throughout the province.

I have endeavored to give my readers the substance of his address. No stenographer having reported it, the exact language cannot be given.



GENERAL M. G. VALLEJO.

General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo by common consent or by courtesy attended the junta and participated in its deliberations, but was not a delegate. As he was a prominent and most interesting figure in

the history of early California, I will favor my readers with a brief sketch of his biography.

He was a scion of Castilian nobility untinged by Indian blood; was born in Monterey, California, July, 1808, where he received his civil, military and religious education. He left Monterey in 1830, removing to San Francisco where, as commandant of the presidio, collector and alcalde, he remained till 1835; was a member of the California party which, with concerted influence, could checkmate any burdensome tyranny or misrule attempted by the Supreme Government of Mexico. His mind was liberal, expansive and highly progressive, drawing its treasures from the unsurpassed beauties of the land he loved and from a well-selected library which he obtained in his youth, and which was kept securely locked against priest and layman and all others except his nephew, Alvarado. Fortunately for young Vallejo this library was liberal in its character and progressive in its teachings; too much so to suit any sect, creed or denomination whose chief aim was to keep as large a number of the human family as possible in ignorance. He loved the Yankees and honored the Stars and Stripes that waved over them. For loftiness of thought and nobility of action he leads the most illustrious of his countrymen. His name is destined to go down to admiring posterity enriched with memories of his noble deeds, gentle manners and the benedictions of his contemporaries.

Business affairs called Vallejo to Washington, D. C., in the early part of the Civil War in the United States. Here an acquaintance sprang up between him and President Lincoln, which ripened into warm and pure friendship. The following conversation between these two gentlemen I quote from a pleasing article written for Harper's New Weekly, by Emily Brown Powell. Vallejo suggested to Mr. Lincoln that the United States build a railroad to Mexico, believing, as he said, it would be a benefit to both nations. Mr. Lincoln smilingly asked: "What good would it do for our people to go down to Mexico, even if the railroad were built? They would all die of fever, and according to your belief, go down yonder," with a motion of his hand toward the supposed location of the infernal regions. "I wouldn't be very sorry about that," remarked General Vallejo coolly. "How so?" said Mr. Lincoln. "I thought you liked the Yankees." "So I do," was the answer. "The Yankees are a wonderful people—wonderful! Wherever they go they make improvements. If they were to immigrate in large numbers to hell itself they would somehow manage to change the climate."

In his address to the junta, he delivered himself of the patriotic sentiment that had long been near to his heart, advocating with great force such measures as he believed would, if carried out, conduce to the greatest good of his country.

He was a member of the convention that met in '49 to frame a constitution for California.

His speech, like Pico's, not having been accurately reported, we cannot quote him verbatim. We know his patriotism and his ability as an orator. I can undertake no more than to give the substance of his address.

He agreed with Pico and Castro that they should, by all means, maintain forever their independence of Mexico. He regretted to be at variance with the distinguished gentlemen with whom he had stood shoulder to shoulder on former occasions, battling for the right,—gentlemen whose patriotism commanded his profound respect; but he shrank from the idea of commending themselves to the mercy of any foreign power for protection. The fear that some professed to entertain in regard to their ability to maintain their position, appeared to him to be without foundation. True it was, that the history of past ages furnishes instances where weak and unsettled states had sought protection from a powerful neighbor, and in nearly every case of this kind where the soliciting power found protection it found a new master also.

He said it was unsafe for a weak and embroiled power to ally with a powerful one, except by annexation, and that would not be alliance. He referred them to the Britons and the Saxons, to England and Denmark, and to some of the distant states tributary

to imperial Rome. He counseled them to lend a deaf ear to the aspersive reports that reached them concerning the hardy and energetic Americans who are scaling the Sierras; that their enterprise was an evidence that their mettle was good; and that they would be a significant factor in developing the resources of the country. He said if they lent the Yankees confidence in time of trouble, they would make common cause with the Californians, and would prove, in the end, the nation's pride—her ornament and guard. Their prowess was everywhere admitted. "I most heartily recommend annexing California to the United States," continued he. "When we join fortunes with her, we shall not become her slaves, but her fellow citizens, choosing our own federal and local officers. Our government will be stable and our laws will be just. We shall be prosperous, happy and free.

"Look not, therefore, with jealousy upon the hardy pioneers who scale the mountains and settle our unoccupied valley lands. They have been encouraged to come here, through promises of land. Why turn upon these people, who are acting in good faith? Better to welcome them as brothers. Strongly impressed am I, that they will serve us better as allies than as foes. If we annex ourselves to the United States we are certain of a high and happy destiny."

The junta adjourned without formulating any plan of operation. The deliberations of that body did, how-

ever, tend to confirm the alienation of California from Mexico, as all were agreed on that.

THE IMMIGRANTS AND MEXICO'S PROMISES.

The Indians were so troublesome that Mexico had offered lands to any foreigner who would settle upon them and naturalize to her government. This promise she broke by refusing to grant the lands.

In sentiment, Pico and Castro, as we have seen, were hostile to the American immigrants and they seldom missed an opportunity to so express themselves. As the immigrants from the United States were called foreigners and outnumbered all other foreigners, upon them especially was Castro's displeasure brought to bear. Word reached the settlement that an emigrant train of several hundred Americans was on its way to California and was expected soon to reach Carson valley.

The valorous Castro, whose adroitness was best displayed in his efforts to keep out of danger, conceived a plan to intercept the Americans with an armed force ere they crossed the Sierras, plunder the train, seize the stock and after destroying what goods they could not convey away, send the party back across the Plains.

While this plan, which savored more of barbarism

than of courage, was incubating, Castro declared by proclamation, formally issued, that all foreigners must leave California within forty days or their property would be confiscated and themselves put to death. That such a proclamation was issued, was verified by three representative men on oath before J. H. Russell, notary public. As Castro commanded the army in California, this proclamation was not permitted to pass unnoticed.

Preparations were commenced for carrying out the plan of plundering the emigrant train. The provincial government had a band of two hundred and fifty horses grazing near San Rafael. Castro sent Francisco de Arc, his lieutenant and secretary, with a guard of fourteen privates to bring them to Santa Clara, Castro's headquarters. De Arc said General Castro had sent for the horses for the purpose of mounting a battalion of two hundred men with which he designed to march against the American settlements in the Sacramento valley. This report, whether true or not, was in close harmony with Castro's proclamation. Another report, nearly as alarming, was circulated through the settlement. Castro, it was said, wanted the horses to use as cavalry in the expedition against the emigrant train from the United States. This story, too, was apparently well founded.

De Arc and his men crossed the Sacramento river

at Knight's Landing. One of Sutter's Indians, who saw them going in that direction, reported at the American settlement that he saw two or three hundred armed men advancing up the Sacramento valley. Fremont with his exploring party was encamped near Marysville Buttes. This officer having previously had some difficulty with Castro, inferred that the army the Indian saw was headed by Castro and that they were going to attack him.

Couriers spread the alarm very rapidly in every direction where an American settler could be reached. There was a rush for Fremont's camp for the purpose of taking a hand in the fight if the attack were made. This alarm, however, was neutralized by the report given by Mr. Knight,* who met the pioneers at Fremont's camp. He stated that he saw the party with the horses and had a talk with the officer in command, who stated that General Castro wanted the horses for the purpose of mounting a battalion, etc.

Twelve men, after some consultation, volunteered to pursue Lieutenant de Arc and capture the horses and bring them to Helvetia. Ezekiel Merritt, being the oldest of the party, was chosen captain. Here were twelve civilians in pursuit of fifteen soldiers for the purpose of disarming them and taking their horses, which undertaking was

* William Knight left Missouri in 1841, received a land grant from Mexico established a ferry at Knight's Landing, and died November, 1849, in the mines in Stanislaus County, Cal.

heroically accomplished. A man who was traveling with the Lieutenant, for pleasure, claimed six horses of the band, which were promptly turned over to him, the captain stating that his men were not disposed to meddle with private property. Lieut. de Arc and his men were each given a horse for his own use and the captives were dismissed after being requested to tell Castro: "If he wishes his horses, to come and get them." The Americans returned with their prizes to the settlement. This move, abstractly considered, was boldly conceived and nobly performed, and was, in the light of environments, big with significance.

THE CAPTURE OF SONOMA.

Revolution being now fairly launched, the adventurers who inaugurated it could not safely remain inert. They resolved, as the next step, to capture Sonoma, a small fortified town lying on the north side of San Francisco bay. This place was occupied by Mexican citizens and was the residence of Gen. Vallejo, who was commandant-general of the northern district of California, of his brother Don Salvador, who was captain in the Mexican service, of Col. Victor Pruden, a Frenchman, and of Jacob P. Leese, an American who had married Gen. Vallejo's sister Dona Rosalia Vallejo. Self-defense urged the revolutionists to vigor-

ous action. Having augmented their forces to thirty-five men, with Merritt still in command, they advanced upon Sonoma, where they arrived at daybreak, June 14, 1846. Gen. Vallejo and his brother officers, being surprised in bed, surrendered the garrison, without opposition, to a party without a commander. The revolutionary party having surrounded this "Ticonderoga," sent some men with an interpreter (Spanish being spoken) into the commander's apartments to demand the surrender. Vallejo assured them he was willing to make common cause with them and head the forces at his command against the enemies of the country.

His generosity, for which he was distinguished, becoming excited, he brought forward some choice wines, which the party, after a night's ride, sampled with a relish to which their judgment yielded. After remaining in their saddle two or more hours guarding the premises, during which time they received no tidings from within, one of the party suggested that they delegate some one to enter and explore the situation and, in due time, report to them. David Hudson was accordingly chosen.

On going in, he found the party who first entered the house, in a drowsy condition. There sat Merritt, whose sense of taste was easily tickled by the contact of delicious juices, the fragrance of whose exhalations, harmonized with the bloom of his nasal appen-

dage. Poor man! Having drowned his last sorrow in the flowing bowl, he took passage for slumberland and visions of beauty were coquetting in his dreams. The authorized interpreter being "half seas-over," was too "mellow" to perform the duties of his office. After waiting an hour for the return of Captain Hudson, the party selected another man and sent him in, saying to him: "Now you go in that house, and, by God, you come out again!"

I have said that the party to whom the garrison surrendered acted without a commander. Dr. Semple, who was duly appointed a member of a committee to gather material for a history of the Bear Flag revolution, published a series of articles on this subject, the first of which appeared in his paper two months after the flag was raised and the movement inaugurated. He was an active participant, and was in a position to know as much about the movement as any one. I think much importance should attach to his statement. He says: "On the 14th day of June, 1846, a party of Americans, without a leader, gathered and took possession of the fortified town of Sonoma," etc. But Dr. Semple says Merritt was a member of the Bear Flag party.

General Vallejo's wife, an amiable and accomplished lady, who was present when her husband was commanded to surrender, said to the Americans, "To whom are we to surrender?" In after years she fre-

quently related the circumstances, and amused herself with the idea that an armed force undertook so grave a task without a leader.

Merritt, the reputed captain, was an old mountaineer, bear hunter, and trapper. He lived with a squaw, and dressed like a Rocky Mountain chief, wearing buckskin breeches heavily fringed. In addition to a generous use of ardent spirits he was also addicted to the use of navy plug tobacco. He did but little spitting, but what tobacco juice he did not swallow, was permitted to flow at random down the unkempt beard that grizzled his chin and jowls. In his own estimation he was as brave as Don Quixote and as bold as Capt. Kidd. We will accord to him the credit of having been a skillful bear trapper, and he was also a self-reputed Indian exterminator, having slaughtered enough of them to densely populate an extensive burying-ground. Every time he killed one he cut a notch in the handle of his tomahawk. As he could neither read nor write, this was his only method of keeping a memorandum. His tomahawk handle being notched of course from end to end, it is doubtful whether he could have counted the notches he had made. After the fall of Sonoma, Merritt dropped out of sight as captain and John Grisby of Napa took his place.

The Bear party left a small garrison at Sonoma, where they found nine pieces of artillery and 250

stand of arms. There was also a large amount of private property and considerable money. One man cried out: "Let us divide the spoils." The indignation expressed by an unanimous frown made him shrink from the presence of honest men; after which no man ventured to express or even entertain a thought of violating the sanctity of private property.

After two or three hours' ride, with the prisoners, from Sonoma one of the Americans recognized the fact that Salvador Vallejo was the Mexican officer who treated him brutally when he was in his power. The enraged American, with his eyes blazing like a panther's, riding up to him, said in a clear, strong voice: "When I was your prisoner you struck me; now you are my prisoner, I will not strike you."

The first night after leaving Sonoma the party having the prisoners in charge encamped and went to sleep without being sentineled. This is a strange story to tell, seemingly almost incredible. It is, nevertheless, true. It were vain to search history for its parallel. Had the prisoners, who were without physical hindrance, been on the alert, with a determined resolution to escape at the first opportunity to do so, they might have seized the arms of their adversaries and killed some, if not all of them, and liberated themselves. But they feared the indomitable courage and prowess of their captors.

After Morpheus had allayed their vigor and bathed

their disturbing ailments with Lethe's soothing balm, they were approached by a band of desperadoes, under the leadership of Juan de Padilla, a noted outlaw, who had adroitly escaped the hangman's knot for a term of years. This desperado cautiously crept to Gen. Vallejo, into whose ear he breathed the wormwood of his dastardly soul, in the following strain: "Awake! I have an armed force at my command who can fall upon these Americans and dispatch them all before they can arm. They are hard by awaiting my signal to advance. General, what is your pleasure?"

Fortunately for the Americans, Vallejo thanked Padilla. The latter was ordered to quit the place and to banish from his mind forever so foul a plot, which, if carried into execution, would imperil the life or happiness of their families and strengthen the cause of the foreigners. He told the outlaw he should go with his captors, and he hoped for good treatment. "The matter," he said, "would soon be adjusted. Valor and magnanimity go hand in hand. No people so brave as these can fail to be generous and noble." At the time Gen. Vallejo was captured he possessed an independent fortune, his lands embracing many square leagues, his herds grazing far and wide and his coffers being plethoric of treasures. All honestly acquired.

The prisoners were transported under an escort to Capt. Fremont's headquarters which were still near the Buttes, where they remained until the 19th of June,

when they were taken to the Fort, Sutter having surrendered to the United States on the 18th. Here they remained sixty days strictly guarded by several Americans who were detailed for that purpose, and one, Mr. Kern, a private and an artist in Fremont's command, was made captain of the guard. They were finally released on parole.

Solicitous to learn the political bias of their illustrious captive, a young American of fair address, speaking Spanish with some fluency, rode up to the Vallejo family residence in Sonoma and deporting himself in the manner of an accomplished military officer presented to Mrs. Vallejo an English and an American flag, saying in Spanish, "Which of these do you prefer?" The lady hesitating a moment clasped the American flag to her bosom, kissed its folds and replied, "This is the flag my husband wishes to see wave over his beloved country." The officer, lifting his hat, smiled and took leave of the lady and those present.

Incensed by threats of barbarism issued by Castro, the foreigners, who had hitherto been neutral or conservative, took on bolder attitudes and resolved to stand by the Americans, and on the 19th of June the garrison of Sonoma was reinforced.

IDE'S PROCLAMATION.

The day after the fall of Sonoma, Wm. B. Ide was elected, by the Bear party, governor and commander-in-chief of the newly created republic and John H. Nash was elected chief justice. Ide issued a proclamation in which he set forth the grievances of the patriots and arranged articles of agreement and treaty stipulations. He promised protection to women and children and to all who would not take arms against the revolutionists, who, it was proclaimed, would pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor in support of a republican government.

"A Proclamation to all persons and citizens of the District of Sonoma requesting them to remain at peace and follow their rightful occupation without fear of molestation.

"The commander-in-chief of the troops assembled at the fortress of Sonoma gives his inviolable pledge to all persons in California not found under arms that they shall not be disturbed in their persons, their property or social relations, one with another, by men under his command.

"He also solemnly declares his object to be, first, to defend himself and companions in arms, who were invited to this country by a promise of lands on which to settle themselves and families; who were also prom-

ised a republican government, but when having arrived in California they were denied the privilege of buying or renting lands of their friends; who, instead of being allowed to participate in or being protected by a republican government, were oppressed by a military despotism; who were even threatened, by proclamation by the chief officers of the aforesaid despotism, with extermination if they should not depart out of the country, leaving all their property, arms and beasts of burden; and thus deprived of the means of flight or defense we were to be driven through deserts inhabited by hostile Indians, to certain destruction.

“To overthrow a government which has seized upon the property of the missions for its individual aggrandizement; which has ruined and shamefully oppressed the laboring people of California, by their enormous exactions on goods imported into the country, is the determined purpose of the brave men who are associated under me.

“I also solemnly declare my object in the second place, to be to invite all peaceful and good citizens of California who are friendly to the maintenance of good order and equal rights, and I do hereby invite them to repair to my camp at Sonoma without delay to assist us in establishing and perpetuating a republican government, which shall secure to us all civil and religious liberty; which shall encourage virtue and literature, commerce and manufactures.

"I further declare that I rely upon the rectitude of our relations, the favor of heaven and the bravery of those who are bound and associated with me by the principles of self preservation, by the love of truth and the hatred of tyranny, for my hopes of success.

"I further declare that I believe that a government, to be prosperous and happy, must originate with the people who are friendly to its existence; that the citizens are its guardians, the officers its servants, its glory, its reward.

William B. Ide.

"Headquarters, Sonoma, June 18, 1846."

This address, being heralded broadcast, was far reaching and salutary. When it reached Castro's camp, more than one third of his men deserted.

Meanwhile Castro sent out a proclamation calling on all good Californians to unite and in one bold effort fall on and kill the bears of Sonoma, and then return and kill the whelps afterwards. This proclamation, like his former utterances, served to weaken his army and strengthen the cause of the foreigners. He was greatly wanting in diplomacy and was a poor judge of human nature. A few kind words are far reaching and splendidly effective when addressed to either man or beast. Courtesy is soothing to a gentleman's perturbed spirit. These facts, Gen. Jose Castro seemed never to have discovered. He was not a fair representation of Spanish nobility. The prompt action of the

patriots, eventuating in the capture of Sonoma, deserves the commendation of humane, loyal and brave men. Their determination to protect themselves and their friends from unprovoked violence, led up to this heroic achievement. They had been refused passports and threatened with annihilation. These insults the Americans were not disposed to endure neither with nor without contumely. The Americans had been allured to California by the promise of land and the promise of protection. The land had been withheld, and instead of their being protected, the government was directing its arms against them. They, as well as all other Californians by adoption, had grown tired of such injustice. This fact appeared evident from the unsettled state of affairs which had existed for more than twenty years prior to the Bear Flag war.

THE BEAR FLAG.

As all civilized nations are supposed to have a flag and a motto, this embryonic republic must assume the dignities of sovereignty and add her motto to the banners of the world. The idea of having a grizzly bear for a motto was suggested by Captain Ford. Most of the party being hunters, the idea was thought good and the bear was adopted. The painting, from an artistic viewpoint, could hardly be pronounced a success, as those who saw it, not knowing what it was intended

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to represent, supposed it to be a wild boar. The Spaniards facetiously called it "Bandera Colchis" (hog flag).

The flag was made out of a white petticoat which was purchased for a Mexican dollar of Miss Anna Frisbie, who was visiting a friend in the neighborhood. The bear was painted with a mixture of lamp black and oil, which ingredients were procured by Granville P. Swift and Peter Storm. The paint was mixed and the bear painted by Wm. L. Tod, who was a kinsman of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. In front of the bear was a single star and below him was written "Republic of California."

The performance of this modern "Giotto" was impromptu and hurried to meet the demand of a real or supposed necessity. The painter knew not how long the new banner would wave in heaven. The revolution might be a success and bring independence to his adopted country, or it might be a failure. He might long enjoy the empire his valor helped to create, or he might die the next day as a rebel, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Time for deliberation was not at his command. He could not repair to his easel like Raphael or da Vinci and there, with his mind as calm as a summer sea, outline with choicest paints and brushes, re-outline, sketch and re-sketch, limn and re-limn, blend and re-blend for days, weeks and months before submitting, for public inspection, the offspring

of his genius; and yet, Tod, of Bear Flag fame, will outlive Raphael or da Vinci. He wreathed his own name with fadeless laurels.

THE RESCUE OF TOD.

Soon after the beginning of the Bear Flag revolution, young Tod was taken prisoner by a party of Mexicans and carried to a Petaluma ranch. A party of twenty men, under command of Lieutenant Ford, went to his rescue. The enemy, of whom Major Joaquin de la Torre was in command, had a force of seventy-five armed and well-mounted men (a Thermopylaean odds) with which the patriots must contend. The latter, being discovered by the enemy, sought shelter in a dry ravine, dismounted, made ready and awaited the attack, as brave and prudent men must have done. The Mexicans, who advanced in good shape, were so warmly received that they never made a second charge; but, leaving eight men dead on the field, sought refuge in flight. Tod was rescued.

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COWEY AND FOWLER.

At the beginning of the revolution, two young men, Thomas Cowey and George Fowler, who lived in the neighborhood of Sonoma, started to go to Bodega after powder for the garrison. They were instructed not to follow the main traveled road but to use caution and, if possible, avoid being discovered. Failing to heed this advice, they were seen by a small party of Californians under command of the outlaw Padilla, taken prisoners, kept a day and a half, and then tied to a tree and cut to pieces in the most brutal manner.

A Californian, known as Three-fingered Jack, a noted outlaw who was present and afterwards captured, gave the following account of the horrible scene: "The party, after keeping the prisoners a day or two, tied them to trees, then stoned them. One of them had his jaw broken. A riata (rope) was made fast to the broken bone, and the jaw dragged out. They were then cut up, a small piece at a time and the pieces thrown at them or crammed in their throats; and they were eventually dispatched by being disemboweled."

The horrible tragedy of Cowey and Fowler shows the first, and the only bloodshed in the Bear Flag revolution, if we except the eight Mexicans who fell in their effort to prevent the recapture of Tod.

The following is a list of the members of the Bear Flag party who are known to have participated in the capture of Sonoma: From Sacramento Valley: Ezekiel Merritt, Robert Semple, William Fallon, William B. Ide, Henry L. Ford, Granville P. Swift, Samuel Neal, William Potter, Samuel Gibson, W. M. Scott, James Gibbs, Horace Sanders and Peter Storm. From Napa: Samuel Kelsey, Benjamin Kelsey, John Grigsby, David Hudson, William Hargrave, Harrison Pierce, William Porterfield, Patrick McChristian, Silas Barrett, C. G. Griffith, William L. Tod, Nathan C. Coombs and Lucien Maxwell. From Sonoma: Franklin Bidwell, Thomas Cowey, George Fowler, William B. Elliott, Benjamin Duell, John Sears and "Old Red."

William B. Ide was born in the town of Rutland, Worcester county, Massachusetts, March 28, 1797, came to California when he was about fifty years old and took a prominent part in the Bear Flag revolution and afterwards became active and useful in the affairs of Colusa county.

FREMONT IN COMMAND.

Captain Fremont, on being solicited, took command of the revolutionists on the fifth day of July. On taking command he exacted a pledge from his men that they would conduct the revolution honorably and follow the guidance of equity-inspiring principles; and that they would not violate the chastity of women.

When Fremont accepted the command the Bear Flag revolution virtually terminated. That transaction merged it into the character and dignity of a war of conquest, congress having declared war against Mexico, May 13, 1846, just thirty-one days before the fall of Sonoma. By the 4th of July, the patriots had taken Yerba Buena, spiked the cannon there, and held all of California north and east of the San Joaquin river. California was conquered by American emigrants; the enterprise was followed up by the American government, and Wm. B. Ide was the first governor under American rule.

General Fremont has been censured by some, for his actions in the Bear Flag revolution. He has been charged by them with creating friction between the Americans and Californians. Such a charge is not only untrue, but is absolutely without foundation in fact.

He could not have done less than he did in the Hawk's Peak affair without acting the part of a coward and receiving the odium of a coward. During the exciting times leading up to the Bear Flag revolution, when the life and property of every American settler in the Sacramento valley was jeopardized, it was both natural and proper for the Americans to keep in touch with Fremont. On his strong arm they felt they could rely in case of a brutal attack, an attack that had been threatened. Again, it was not until Fremont received orders from the war department of the United States that he went into quarters near Marysville Buttes where the Americans frequented his camp.

ANOTHER EXTRACT FROM SUTTER'S DIARY.

Sutter having recorded in his diary an account of some trouble he had with the Indians, I quote the following therefrom:

"June 3d. I left in company of Major Reading, and most all of the Men in my employ, for a Campaign with the Mukelunney, which has been engaged by Castro and his Officers to revolutionize all the Indians against me to kill all the foreigners, burn their houses, and Wheatfields etc. These Mukelunney Indians had great promises and some of them were finely dressed and equipped, and those came apparently on a friendly visit to the fort and Vicinity and had long conversation

with the influential Men of the Indians, and one night a Number of them entered in my Partriuro (a kind of closed pasture) and was Ketching horses to drive the whole Cavallada away with them, the Sentinel at the fort heard the distant Noise of these Horses, and gave due notice, & immediately I left with about 6 well armed Men and attacked them, but they could make there escape in the Woods (where Sacramento City stands now) and so I left a guard with the horses. As we had to cross the Mukelemny River on rafts, one of these rafts capsised with two men, 10 rifles and 6 prs of Pistols, a good supply of amunition and the clothing of about 24 men and Major & another Man nearly drowned.

“Some of the men remained on dry places as they had no clothing nor Arms, the remaining Arms and amunitions had been divided among the whole, and so we marched the whole night on the Calaveras and could not find the enemy. In the Morning by Sunrise we took a little rest, and soon dispatched a party to discover and reconoiter the enemy, a Dog came to our Camp which was a well known dog of the Mukelemneys, a sign that they are not very far from us, at the same time a courier of the party came on galloping telling us that the party fell already in an engagement with enemy. immediately we left galloping to join in the fight, already some of our men was wounded and unable to fight. We continued the fighting until they

retired and fled in a large hole like a cellar in the bank of the Calaveras, covered with brushes and trees, firing and shooting with their bows and arrows, but we had them blockaded, and killed them a good many of their men, but on account of having no more powder and balls, we found it very prudent to leave the scene slowly, so that it appeared as we wanted to camp, and so we made a forced March and crossed the Mukel-emney, and returned from the campaign on the 7th June."

In Sutter's diary of June the 14th 1846 we find the following:

"A dinner given to Gen'l Kearney and staff, Capt. Fremont a prisoner of Gen'l Kearney. Walla-Walla Indian chiefs and people visited Fremont and wanted their pay for services rendered in the Campaign when they was with Fremont's battalion, he then ordered one of his officers to pay them with Govt's horses (horses which had been taken from the people of the Country was called Govt. horses and war horses)."

Sutter says in his diary, in reference to the Sonoma prisoners: "I have treated them with kindness and so good as I could, which was reported to Fremont, and he then told me, that prisoners ought not to be treated so, then I told him, if it is not right how I treat them, to give them in charge of somebody else."

On July 11, 1846, General Sutter raised the American flag over his fort. How impressive must have

been the scene when, on that beautiful morning, the aromatic breath of heaven, which ever touches the western shore, in this latitude, with characteristic loveliness, kissed the glorious flag of our country; when, for the first time, the Swiss philanthropist gave the starry emblem of freedom to the breeze that fanned the citadel of New Helvetia. Sutter says in his diary:

“July 11th. Capt. Montgomery did send an Amer. flag by Lieut. Revere then in Command of Sonoma and some dispatches to Fremont. I received the Order to raise the flag by Sunrise from Lt. Revere, long time before daybreak, I got ready with loading the Canons and when it was day the roaring of the Canons got the people all stirring. Some of them made long faces, as they thought if the Bear flag would remain there would be a better chance to rob and plunder. Capt. Fremont received Orders to proceed to Monterey with his forces, Capt. Montgomery provided for the upper Country, established Garrisons in all important places, Yerba buena, Sonoma, San Jose and fort Sacramento. Lieut. Misroon came to organize our Garrison better and more Numbers of white Men and Indians of my former Soldiers, and gave me the Command of this Fort. The Indians have not yet received their pay yet for their services, only each one a shirt and a pre of pants & abt 12 men got Coats. So went the War on in California. Capt. Fremont was nearly all time engaged in the lower Country and made him-

self Governor until Gen'l Kearney arrived when another Revolution took place. And Fremont for disobeying orders was made Prisoner by Gen'l Kearney, who took him afterward with him to the U States by Land across the Mountains. After the War I was anxious that Business should go like before, and on the 28th May, 1847, Marshall & Gingery, two Millwrights, I employed to survey the large Millraise for the flour Mill at Brighton.

"May 13, 1847. Mr. Marshall commenced the great work of the large Millraise, with ploughs and scrapers.

"July 20th 1847. Got all the necessary timber and frame of the millbuilding.

"Aug. 25th. Capt. Hart of the Mormon Battalion arrived with good many of his Men on their Way to great Salt Lake, they had orders for Govt. Horses which I delivered to them (War Horses) not paid for yet. They bought provisions and got Blacksmith work done. I employed about Eighty Men of them, some as Mechanics, some as laborers, on the Mill and Millraise at Brighton, some as laborers at the Sawmill at Coloma.

"Aug. 28, 1847. Marshall moved with P. Wisner's family and the working hands to Coloma, and began to work briskly on the saw mill.

"Sept. 10th. Mr. Samuel Brannan returned from the great Salt Lake, and announced a large Emigration

by land. On the 19th the Garrison was removed, Lieut't Per Lee took her down to San Francisco.

"Nov. 11th. Getting with a great deal of trouble and with breaking wagons the four Runs of Millstones, to the Mill Sit (Brighton) from the Mountains.

"December 22. Received about 2000 fruit trees with great expenses from Fort Ross, Napa Valley and other places, which was given in Care of men who called themselves Gardeners, and nearly all of the trees was neglected by them and died."

In his effort to adorn New Helvetia with a domestic and civilized appearance Sutter was obliged to entrust much of his work to inexperienced, incompetent and worthless men. Those who have no interest in themselves have little in others.

CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA.

SOME HISTORICAL BEARINGS.

In 1562-3, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator, by order of the King of Spain, explored California, discovering the harbor of San Diego and some of the islands. England and France, which were jealous of the United States, keenly watched the movements of each other in the Pacific seas. England laid an informal claim to California, basing it on the divine right of discovery; Sir Francis Drake, an English freebooter and navigator, having visited Drake's Bay in 1579, not knowing that California had been discovered before, named it Nova Albion. He explored some distance inland, but meeting little inducement to go farther or remain longer, took leave of Upper California.

Robert Gray, a navigator and discoverer born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, sailed in the *Columbia* to the Northwest coast and on May 11, 1791, discovered the mouth of a great river, to which he gave the name "*Columbia*," after his own vessel. Subsequently, while in command of a Boston trading vessel, he discovered a river and bay farther up the coast, both of which have since received his name. He also touched at various places along the coast of California. He was

the first man to carry the United States flag around the world.

The expedition of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, which he reached in lat. $52^{\circ} 20' 48''$, suggested the possibility of linking together the trade of both sides of the continent. In lat. $50^{\circ} 30'$ he had descended for some distance a river which flowed toward the south and was called by the natives Taconche Tesse, and which he erroneously supposed to be the Columbia. It was afterwards found to disembogue three degrees north of the mouth of the Columbia.

In 1804, the United States sent an exploring party under command of Lewis and Clark on an expedition up the Missouri River to its source; thence down the Columbia to the sea.

Another expedition across the continent in the interest of John Jacob Astor was fitted out in Montreal in 1810. This was directed by Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, assisted by Mr. Donald McKenzie. They employed ten Canadians to man their boat, two of whom were experts—one to manage the bow, the other the stern. This expedition went by way of Mackinaw and St. Louis; thence to Astoria.

The Franciscan Friars established a chain of missions, twenty-one in number, extending from San Diego in the south to Sonoma in the north. The first was founded at San Diego in 1769, the last at Sonoma

in 1823. Large fortunes were amassed at these missions, whence an extensive commerce was carried on with other countries, the trade being chiefly in hides, tallows, salt beef, wheat and barley, etc. Indians, who were little else than slaves, were the wealth producers. After Mexico established her independence of Spain the importance of the missions rapidly declined. So far as ownership based exclusively on the right of discovery confirms—if there be such a right—Spain had better right to California than any other nation. When Mexico ceased to be a Spanish province she acquired the control of California.

As early as 1842 the Americans began to look longingly on this beautiful land. The idea of acquiring it seems to have been first entertained by our statesmen in the South. Henry Alexander Wise, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives in April, 1842, said that he for one would assign California to a place where all the power of England could not reach her. (Wise was Governor of Virginia when John Brown of Ossawatimie was executed.) Some time in October the same year Commodore Jones raised the Stars and Stripes in Monterey. This behavior not being spiced to the taste of Mexico, all foreigners, especially citizens of the United States in California and other neighboring governmental departments, were ordered to leave the country. In the New Orleans Courier of May, 1845, we find the

following information in regard to this favored portion of the globe: It was eagerly sought by our citizens as it was destined ere long to be annexed to the United States.

On the 17th of June, 1848, Saunders had been charged by James Buchanan in the name of the President confidentially to introduce to the government of Spain the matter of buying Cuba, authorizing him to offer as high as \$100,000,000. The Secretary of State assured him that Cuba was ready and willing to place itself under the protection of the United States; and that the acquisition of Cuba would strengthen the Federal Union in a high degree.

THE OSTEND MANIFESTO.

From an excellent and most reliable work by J. N. Larned the following is taken: "When the Spanish colonies in America became independent, they abolished slavery. Apprehensive that the republics of Mexico and Colombia would be anxious to wrest Cuba and Porto Rico from Spain, secure their independence, and introduce into those islands the idea, if they did not establish the fact, of freedom, the slave masters of the United States at once sought to guard against what they deemed so calamitous an event. But after the annexation of Texas, there was a change of feeling and purpose, and Cuba, from being an object of dread,

became an object of vehement desire. The propagandists, strengthened and emboldened by that signal triumph, now turned their eyes toward this beautiful isle of the sea, as the theatre of new exploits; and they determined to secure 'the Gem of the Antilles' for the coronet of their great and growing power. During Mr. Polk's administration an attempt was made to purchase it, and the sum of \$100,000,000 was offered therefor. But the offer was promptly declined. What, however, could not be bought it was determined to steal, and filibustering expeditions became the order of the day.

"No sooner was President Taylor inaugurated than he found movements on foot in that direction; and in August, 1849, he issued a proclamation, affirming his belief that an armed expedition was being fitted out against Cuba or some of the provinces of Mexico, and calling upon all good citizens to discountenance and prevent any such enterprise.

"In 1851 an expedition, consisting of some 500 men, sailed from New Orleans under Lopez, a Cuban adventurer. But though it effected a landing, it was easily defeated, and its leader and a few of his followers were executed. Soon afterwards a secret association, styling itself the 'Order of the Lone Star,' was formed in several of the Southern cities, having a similar object in view; but it attracted little notice and accomplished nothing. * * *

"In August, 1854, President Pierce instructed Mr. Marcy, his Secretary of State, to direct Buchanan, Mason and Soule, ministers respectively at the courts of London, Paris and Madrid, to convene in some European city and confer with each other in regard to the matter of gaining Cuba to the United States. They met accordingly, in October, at Ostend, Belgium. The results of their deliberations were published in a manifesto, in which the reasons are set forth for the acquisition; and the declaration was made that the Union could never enjoy repose and security as long as Cuba was not embraced within its boundaries.

"The great source of anxiety, the controlling motive, was the apprehension that, unless so annexed, she would be Africanized and become a second San Domingo and thus seriously endanger the Union.

"This paper attracted great attention and caused much astonishment. It was at first received with incredulity, as if there had been some mistake made or imposition practiced. But there was neither. It was the deliberate utterance of the conference, and it received the indorsement of Mr. Pierce and his administration. The Democratic national conventions of 1856 and of 1860 were quite as explicit as were the authors of the Ostend Manifesto in favor of the conquest of Cuba."

ACQUISITION OF CALIFORNIA BY UNITED STATES

In 1845 the newspapers began to speak quite freely on this subject, all being favorable to the acquisition of California. On the 15th of December General Cass, in the United States Senate, expressed a hope that the Administration would bring it to pass. Polk instructed Slidell to offer Mexico \$25,000,000 for New Mexico and California and assume the claims against Mexico. Bancroft, in his instructions June 24 to Commodore Sloat, who commanded the fleet on the Pacific, said: "The Mexico ports on the Pacific are said to be open and defenseless. If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit."

In 1842 Dr. Marcus Whitman was called to visit a patient in Walla-Walla. While at dinner a courier brought word that a colony of British settlers from Red River had crossed the mountains and were then about three hundred miles up the Columbia River.

The announcement was hailed with expressions of delight. There were present about twenty-five men. A young priest, who was enthusiastic, swinging his

cap in the air, cried, "Hurrah for Oregon. America is too late—the country is ours" (i. e. England's). Within a few days Whitman was on his way to Washington, D. C., encountering many hardships on his journey. Attired in the buckskin garb of a frontiersman, he called on Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, and made his business known. The great statesman replied, "Wagons cannot cross the mountains. Sir G. Simpson, who is there, affirms that, and so do all of his correspondents in that region. Besides, I am about trading that worthless territory for some valuable concessions in the Newfoundland cod-fisheries." Dr. Whitman replied, "Mr. Webster, we want that valuable territory ourselves." He then made his business known to President Tyler, who, becoming interested in his earnestness, said, "Since you are a missionary I will believe you; and if you get your colony over the mountains the treaty will not be ratified."

In a debate in congress one speaker said, "I would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole of Oregon for agricultural purposes, and I thank God that he put the Rocky Mountains between it and the East." Another speaker declared, "All the gold mines of Peru would not pay a penny on a pound of the cost it would be to build a railroad across the mountains to Oregon." Such expressions were current in political circles in the United States at that time.

After Oregon was secured and found to be in line with great possibilities, a deeper and less vague interest in California prevailed throughout the United States.

Commodore John D. Sloat, in command of the United States frigate *Savannah*, at Mazatlan, had been ordered by the Secretary of War to take California on the first intimation that war existed between Mexico and this country. On hearing of the battle of Rio Grande, fought on the 8th and 9th of May between the United States and Mexico, without waiting for a formal declaration of war or further orders he sailed at once for Monterey, where he arrived on the 2nd day of July, followed within two weeks by the British man-of-war *Collingwood*, of the British fleet on the Pacific Coast, under command of Admiral George Seymour. On the 6th of July Sloat dispatched a courier to Montgomery, commander of the sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, lying at San Francisco, bearing him the news of his intention to raise the flag in Monterey and requiring him, if his force were sufficient, to do the same at San Francisco and elsewhere in the upper portions of the territory.

On the 7th of July, 1846, Sloat hoisted the American flag in Monterey, which act was performed by Captain Mervine, commanding two hundred and fifty marines and seamen. Cheer upon cheer from the troops and foreigners present was given after the rais-

ing of the flag, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired by all the American ships in the harbor.

Having briefly noticed some of the discoveries of the early explorers of the Pacific coast, I now endeavor to give a synopsis of the principal military operations which were carried on in the so-called conquest of California. It is not mine to give minutely the details of the skirmishes or to tell precisely where the dragoons were striking their blows, what disposition was made of the volunteers, where the marines were marshaled and where the battalions. Nor shall I undertake to say the regulars were stationed here and the volunteers there. Who has not had his patience worn threadbare by the narration of such wearisome and unimportant details? Let those be thus precise who possess a fondness for that style of narration.

SAN PEDRO AND LOS ANGELES.

About the first of August, 1846, Commodore Stockton sailed in the Congress for San Pedro, where he raised the United States flag on the 6th. There being no resistance, he marched soon afterwards with his command to Los Angeles, just without which he was joined by Fremont, when he entered the city and raised the American flag on the thirteenth day of August. After remaining in the city about two weeks, Stockton sailed for San Pedro and Fremont went to the North by land, leaving Gillespie with sixty men in command of the South with headquarters at Los Angeles (City of the Angels), the largest city in California, then having a population of one thousand seven hundred. The enemy realizing that the place was poorly garrisoned collected their strength and forced Gillespie to capitulate.

A few days after Gillespie's capitulation Mervine arrived at San Pedro on the frigate Savannah. Joining his marines with Gillespie's volunteers, he set out for Los Angeles about the first of October. Finding himself encountering overpowering numbers and being harassed on all sides by well-mounted cavalry, he very prudently withdrew to his ship. Six men were killed.

The news of Gillespie's capitulation and Mervine's defeat having reached Stockton in the North, he immediately began to recruit his forces and organize for a vigorous campaign in the South. He landed at San Pedro with four hundred men, sailing thence to San Diego, where he must have arrived some time in November.

THE CAPTURE OF LARKIN.

Thomas O. Larkin, Esq., a Boston merchant, went into business in Monterey, California, in 1832, and in 1843 was appointed United States consul. Here he remained till the conquest of California. After war with its crimson wings began to hover about Monterey he removed his family to San Francisco, where they would be less troubled by disturbing influences.

On receiving information that his family were ill and that Montgomery desired his presence in San Francisco respecting some stores for the Portsmouth, he set out, with one servant, on the 15th of November, for that place. The first night he put up at the house of Don Joaquin Gomez, sending his servant on an errand to San Juan, six miles beyond, to request a gentleman who was also going to San Francisco to wait for him. About midnight Larkin was aroused from his bed, as he says, by the noise made by ten Californians (unshaved and unwashed for months)

rushing into his room with guns, swords, pistols and torches in their hands. The invitation he received to accompany them did not sparkle with elegance, as may be supposed. While he was dressing they saddled his horse and he rode with them to a camp of seventy-five men on the banks of the Monterey River. The commandant took him one side and informed him that his people demanded that he write to the American captain of volunteers at San Juan, saying that he had left Monterey to visit the distressed families along the river and requesting that twenty men should meet him before daylight, so that he could station them, before his return to town, in a manner to protect these families. The natives, the commandant said, were determined on the act being accomplished.

Larkin at first endeavored to reason with them on the infamy and the impossibility of the deed, but to no avail. The commandant told Larkin his life depended on the letter, but that he was willing to preserve his life; indeed, he said he would be glad to do so; he was an old acquaintance, but could not otherwise control his people in this affair. I quote from Larkin's journal: "In this manner you may act and threaten night by night; my life on such conditions is of little value or pleasure to me. I am by incident your prisoner—make the most of me—write I will not: shoot as you see fit and I am done talking on the subject. I left him and walked to the campfire. For

some time there was an excitement kept up around me, when the disturbance subsided." The insurgents, failing by threats to coerce their captive into a strategy highly dishonorable to himself and adverse to the Americans, abandoned the scheme and experimented with new endeavors.

Their plan was to make a night attack on San Juan. At one o'clock they began their march with one hundred and thirty men. Ten miles south of San Juan they encountered eight or ten Americans, who retreated into an oak thicket near by, where they were surrounded by the captors of Larkin, with whom they exchanged an occasional shot. Larkin, who was held as a prisoner, was asked to go into the thicket and call his countrymen out. He told them to do it themselves; when further importuned he said he would call them out if they were allowed to retain their arms and go to San Juan or Monterey. This request was of course denied. While wording over the matter, fifty Americans under Captain Burroughs came down upon them. Forty Californians fled at the first fire. The parties remained within a mile of each other till night, when the enemy made another attack and was repulsed.

The skirmishing continued till very late, when one of the Walla-Walla Indians volunteered to go to Monterey and inform Fremont of what was passing. He was pursued on his way by a party of the enemy, the

foremost of which thrust a lance at him. In his effort to parry it, it went through his hand. Seizing his tomahawk in the other hand he split the Mexican's head from his crown to his mouth. The other pursuers having come up, he, with dexterity and courage that would have honored a Spartan, dispatched two more, when the rest fled. He rode as far toward Monterey as the horse could carry him and then left horse and saddle and went on foot to Monterey. In this affair officers Burroughs, Foster and Eams were killed. Larkin was held in captivity about three months.

BATTLE OF SAN GABRIEL.

December 29th, General Kearney left San Diego with five hundred men consisting of dismounted dragoons, fifty volunteers and a number of Walla-Walla Indians, the balance of his command being marines and sailors, with a battery of artillery. He took up his line of march in the direction of Los Angeles. On the eighth of January he located the enemy, six hundred mounted men, on an eminence commanding the ford of San Gabriel River. They had four pieces of artillery and were commanded by General Flores. Their position was well chosen, but the field was poorly commanded. The Americans were able to haul their guns through the stream, although under a galling fire. The

enemy was soon driven from his vantage ground and after battling an hour withdrew from the field. On the day following, the enemy, having been reinforced, made a stand on the mesa, where for awhile he kept up a brisk artillery firing. At the near approach of the Americans he again gave way and withdrew from the scene.

In the actions of the 8th and 9th the Americans had one private and two officers killed, Lieutenant Rowlin and Captain Gillespie, and eleven privates wounded. The enemy's loss is unknown. On the 10th, Kearney resumed his march into Los Angeles, when the American flag again waved over the city.

INVESTMENT OF SAN LUIS OBISPO.

December 14th, in a night of pitchy darkness, Colonel Fremont, in command of his renowned battalion, surprised and captured, without resistance, the small town of San Luis Obispo. This place had, for a long time, been the seat of a commandant and was of some importance from a military viewpoint. Don Jesus Pico, a dignitary who had recently incited an insurrection in that section of the country, was captured here, court-martialed and sentenced to death for having broken his parole.

The following day, a little before the hour appointed for his execution, a procession of women, headed

by a lady of queenly bearing, arrived at Fremont's headquarters. There, in the sublimity of silence, wife, mother, daughters, and others who were endeared by ties of consanguinity, knelt at the feet of the commander. Few men are great whose hearts are strangers to tenderness. When Pico, who carried himself with fortitude throughout his trial, was ushered into the presence of Fremont and informed that he was pardoned he threw himself at the feet of his captor and, swearing fidelity to him, begged to fight, and if necessary to die, for him.

Fremont's battalion was the most formidable body of men that participated in the conquest of California. The American portion of it were men of daring and endurance; and some were men of erudition who in after years became known to advantage in public affairs. The Indians who formed a part of it were Walla-Wallas, Tulares, Mokelumnes and Delawares. The latter were the best soldiers among the redskins. They spoke better English and were familiar with the use of firearms. Besides, they were a select few; having been chosen by Fremont because of their courage, strength, agility and valuable experience in the different modes of Indian warfare. They were as true to Fremont, whom they had learned to love and respect, as the needle is to the pole.

The Walla-Wallas were little inferior to the Delawares in prowess. In horsemanship, they had few

superiors. They, too, were strong, agile and brave. Nearly every man in the battalion was fit to take command. There were Bryant, Semple, Redding, Hensley and Kit Carson, all men of wide fame.

BATTLE OF SALINAS.

About the first of November Captain Burroughs with a hundred and fifty volunteers undertook to deliver five hundred government horses to Fremont to be used by him in a campaign against the South. The Walla-Wallas were decorated with war paint and dress. Indeed, they were appalling spectacles. On the fifteenth the command encamped near the rancho of Gomez, where they were joined by a few volunteers from some of the neighboring posts that were occupied by the Americans.

On the morning of the sixteenth the enemy was seen in hostile array on the plains of Salinas. The Americans being greatly outnumbered, Burroughs ordered a consultation. Some of the volunteers who were inexperienced, yet brave to a fault, were eager for the fray and urged to be led on. Some of the Walla-Wallas being in advance of the main army, on entering an oak grove were soon surrounded by the enemy, when a brisk fire on both sides was continued for some time. The Indians with their knives dug holes

in the soft loam large enough to receive nearly their whole bodies. From these miniature breastworks they were able to carry on an obstinate warfare. The Californians after seeing the Indians scalp a few of their comrades began to give way.

The casualties on the American side were four men killed and seven badly wounded. The loss of the enemy is unknown. The Californians were commanded by Don Manuel Castro.

The author, in justice to himself as well as to his narrative, will say that the Indians were restricted to usages of civilized warfare.

FALL OF SAN JUAN.

On the eighth day of July, 1846, Purser Fontleroy, of the war vessel *Savannah*, organized a company of dragoons out of volunteers from the ships and from the mixed nationalities on shore. This was done for the purpose of reconnoitering and of keeping communication open between Monterey and other posts in possession of the Americans. On the seventeenth of July this company set out on a march to San Juan, the object being to raise the United States flag over that place and to capture the munitions which were there in concealment.

Colonel Fremont, with the same object in view, left Sacramento on the twelfth and by rapid marching pre-

ceded Fontleroy by an hour, took the place without firing a gun and captured the following military stores: Nine pieces of cannon, two hundred old muskets, twenty kegs of powder and sixty thousand pounds of cannon shot. In the meantime Castro and Pico concentrated their forces, about six hundred strong, at Santa Barbara, whence they marched to Los Angeles, where they arrived early in August.

DEFEAT OF FRANCISCO SANCHES.

Captain Ward Marston of the United States Marine Corps, in command of one hundred men, including officers, left San Francisco, December 19, 1846, in search of the enemy, whom he found about two weeks later on the plains of Santa Clara. Francisco Sanches, who was in command, had collected about a hundred volunteers, all of whom were well mounted. In the engagement which followed, Marston's casualties were one marine and one volunteer wounded. Sanches had four killed and five badly wounded. The enemy succeeded in withdrawing in good order. In the evening he sent a few men, under a flag of truce, to the Americans' camp, requesting an interview the next day with the officers in command of the American forces, which, being granted, an armistice looking to a settlement was entered into.

At the close of war between the United States and Mexico, a treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement was made between the above named nations. dated at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848. ratified by the President of the United States, March 16, 1848; exchanged at Queretaro, May 30, 1848; proclaimed by the President of the United States, July 4, 1848. The United States government engaged to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen million dollars in installments for the province of California.

THE MACNAMARA SCHEME.

Eugenio Macnamara, a Roman Catholic priest, was domiciled, in 1845, or was at least in close touch, with the British legation at the City of Mexico. The paramount object of his stay at that place was to insinuate himself so far into the good graces of this legation and of the authorities of the Mexican government as to enable him to secure by grant a large tract of land around San Francisco Bay, for the purpose of founding a colony of his countrymen. He asked that 4,428 acres be granted to each family who should so colonize and that each child of a colonist should receive half of a league. His intention was to acquire the entire valley of the San Joaquin. His request in-

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cluded more than three thousand square leagues. He agreed to bring a thousand families in the beginning. A synopsis of his object is set forth in his memorial to the President of Mexico, from which I quote the following: "I propose with the aid and approbation of your excellency to place in Upper California a colony of Irish Catholics. I have a triple object in making this proposition. I wish in the first place to advance the cause of Catholicism; in the second place, to contribute to the happiness of my countrymen. Thirdly, I desire to put an obstacle in the way of further usurpation on the part of irreligious nations."

So little was the importance that the Mexican government attached to its province of California and so great the temerity and greed of the Catholics in Mexico in the propagation of their religion that the proposition of Macnamara was entertained by the central government. It was, however, referred for a final decision to the land-holders and local authorities of California. So great was the discontent of the Californians, growing out of the neglect shown them by the parent country, that it was diplomatic for the central government to consult their wishes. Macnamara was landed in Santa Barbara by the *Juno*, a vessel of the British fleet commanded by Seymour, just when the pear was supposed to be ripe. Conventions had deliberated and preparations were advancing to comply with the requests of the Catholic priest.

Although a majority of the active men in California favored issuing the grant solicited, there was a strong opposition to such issuance. Some argued that the prevailing religion in Mexico was the cause of her imbecility; that California had suffered from it and that they shuddered at the thought of allowing any foreign potentate to saddle a priesthood upon this fair land; that Catholicism was losing ground none too fast for the good of the country.

The erudite Macnamara appears to have been in collusion with the government officials of Great Britain, being for a time in the aroma of their favor in Mexico and landed by them in Santa Barbara from the *Juno*, a vessel of the British fleet, where he immediately obtained audience of the highest departmental authorities. This scheme, in which England was evidently interested, was wittily conceived and insidiously wrought. When J. D. Sloat gave "Old Glory" to the breezes at Monterey a change came over the spirit of Macnamara's dream.

THE WALLA-WALLA ALARM.

Just before the ides of September, 1846, New Helvetia and the adjacent colonies were alarmed at the report of an Indian invasion. Couriers from a hundred miles away in the direction of Oregon, brought word that the Walla-Wallas, 1,000 strong, under command of Tuscola, a brave and warlike chief, had entered the upper Sacramento Valley for hostile purposes. They were seeking, it was said, to avenge the death of young Elijah, a Walla-Walla chief, who, they alleged, had been murdered at the fort by a Boston man. Tuscola claimed, also, that Sutter had been owing some of his tribe a long time and refused payment. The Indians, it was reported, had planned to drive all the horses and cattle from the settlements in the Sacramento Valley, in case they failed to capture the fort and plunder the garrison. Those who gave the alarm were settlers who, living up the Sacramento in isolated and unprotected localities, were greatly alarmed. The report of the alleged homicide that incensed the tribe was not without foundation. The facts in regard to it are as follows:

In 1845, the year prior to this alarm, a small party of Walla-Wallas, in a peaceful pursuit, came down the

Sacramento Valley as far as Sutter's Fort. Here a misunderstanding arose between the young chief and Grove C. Cook, which resulted in an altercation in which Cook shot the chief and killed him. The sympathy of the community, at the time of this tragedy, was with the Indian.

What little there is known of Cook is not pleasing to contemplate. His deportment was seldom refined and never noble. He was a native of Gerrard county, Ky., but many years a resident of California. His ruling propensity was better adapted to raising a disturbance than to dissipating one. Elijah, being young and possessed of more or less ambition, may have been proud of his attainments, and, like other boys, inclined to display them. Cook, forgetting that he himself was once young, and magnanimity being foreign to his elements, became too insolent for the spirit of Elijah to brook. This affair was fresh in memory when the Walla-Walla invasion was reported and the Americans, realizing that the Indians had cause for grievance, the alarm was on. Couriers were dispatched in every direction to spread the alarm through the settlements and to solicit aid from the nearest military posts. Indians, spies and scouts were also dispatched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy and to ascertain his strength. The artillery with which the fort was defended was put in fine order.

Word of the threatened attack having reached Lieut.

Revere,* who had charge of the garrison at Sonoma, he arrived at New Helvetia in due time with twenty-five well-armed men who, on reaching the fort, were cheered to the echo. People came from settlements more than one hundred miles away for mutual aid and protection.

In bravery and intellectual energy the Walla-Wallas surpassed as a rule all other Indians of the Pacific territories, being hardly outclassed by the Oneidas or Mingoes, who flourished in the Empire State one hundred and twenty years ago. The Walla-Wallas inhabited a district bordering the Columbia River, where they were very powerful and far advanced in civilization. They cultivated their lands, raising grain and vegetables. Many of them owned horses and cows. They had also quite comfortable dwellings. They were peaceful among themselves, intrepid in warfare and skilled in marksmanship. They had good rifles and abundance of ammunition which they purchased at some of the trading-posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Some of them served in the conquest of California, having been employed by Lieutenant Colonel Fremont, doing service in a battalion in the central and southern parts of the territory, under immediate command of Tom Hill, a Delaware chief.

*Lieut. Joseph Warren Revere, afterwards Brigadier General, U. S. A., was born May 17, 1812, in Boston, Mass., and was the grandson of Colonel Paul Revere, an American engraver and patriot. The laurels this patriot won for himself in the American revolution are kept green in the memory of his country by the celebrated poem "Paul Revere's Ride."

Elijah was the "Alexander" of the Walla-Walla nation. He was educated at Wailatpu, the agency of Dr. Whitman, where he advanced rapidly in his studies. While attending this school he contracted an affectionate regard for "Angeline," one of his classmates, who was a great favorite at the school, being much loved and respected by her teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Whitman. This Walla-Walla princess and the young chief were promised in marriage. The untimely death of her lover was a terrible blow to her. Curran's daughter could scarcely have sorrowed more over the tragical end of her lamented lover, "Robert Emmet."

Soon after the tragedy of Cook and Elijah, representatives from the above named tribes, and others less powerful, met in council for the purpose of discussing the situation. The Walla-Wallas, feeling aggrieved, sought retaliation or redress, their choice being to invade New Helvetia with an armed force, reduce Sutter's Fort, plunder the colony and drive away the stock.

The arguments advanced, pro and con, were not without force and eloquence. The first address was delivered by Tuscola, who, in a carefully planned and well-matured speech, set forth his grievances. After appealing to the patriotism of his fellow warriors, he asked the tribes in council to make common cause with him, in an effort to punish the Boston men as

they deserved. He insisted that not one of his tribe ever wronged a Boston man. The Walla-Wallas, he said, had been the Boston man's friend. The return for this friendship was their fallen chief. A Boston man in cold blood and without cause murdered him. Elijah is no more. The cedar moans over his grave. The panther screams around him, but he hears him not. The song-bird cheers him no more. Angeline weeps. She listens in vain for the voice of her lover. Elijah is gone from her gaze forever. "My brothers, Tuscola feels bad. Tuscola is willing to take chances on the field of battle. The fortunes of war cannot leave us in a condition more deplorable. If we conquer we shall be respected for our freedom. If we are defeated our race will honor our memory. Tuscola is no coward. He turns his back on no man. Farewell."

This stirring appeal was strongly emphasized. The speaker's gestures indexed an agitated mind. His influence was wonderful. His sentiment spread among the listening warriors like darkness over a sundown sea. The spirit of hostility and revenge, so easily excited in the red man, having come to the front in full array, the warriors asked to be led to New Helvetia.

"Sebago," a Pitt River chief, replied to Tuscola in a speech that would honor a modern legislature. He said no Indian felt more deeply than he the truth of what the speaker had said. The Walla-Wallas have

suffered a great wrong—an irreparable loss in the tragic death of their noble chief. The Pitt Rivers and the Klamaths share the injury—share the bereavement with them. Every red man laments the loss of the fallen chief. This no one will deny. But what are we to do? The past is gone beyond return. War can never bring Elijah back. Let



SEBAGO.

us forget our grief and use the calm, sober judgment of good warriors. The Boston men are strong, Indians are weak. Walla-Wallas are brave; Klamaths are brave; Pitt Rivers are brave; all red men, brave. Red men should be wise; they should be prudent. Are they ready to destroy our race? Indians will soon

be gone. "Our kindred will soon be forgotten. I, too, feel bad. If we attack New Helvetia not one of our warriors will come home. Calm yourself, my brother. Go to Sutter and state your case. Smoke the pipe of peace with him. He is a safe friend—a dangerous enemy. Be his friend; save cayuse; save warriors; save the Indian race. My heart is breaking. Farewell."

Sebago's dissuasive address, calming the spirit of revenge, averted a powerful confederacy. The gentle touch of forgetfulness softened prevailing anguish. The Walla-Walla excitement, at that time, was without cause. The alarmist who wrought the settlement to fever heat had seen a few old squaws and some children going in a southerly direction. The courier who saw them, multiplied their numbers, changed their sex and established their purpose in his excited imagination.

Don Quixote, a Walla-Walla boy who lived near Fort Vancouver, possessed a fondness and no less aptitude for music. Having heard an American trapper play some simple melodies on a key-bugle, he became enamored of the instrument and of the music it made. He bought the horn for a beaver skin. In a short time he learned to play all the melodies the trapper taught him, and performed them better than his teacher. He increased his collection of melodies by composing several, all of which he played in exquisite taste. His tribe was proud of his performances; especially

was he a favorite with the dark-eyed maids, whose smiles he won by the grateful power of song. His personal appearance was traceable to the social influence of the Caucasians with whom the Indians were in frequent touch. He spoke English fluently and he was several shades lighter than his mother.



DON QUIXOTE.

His vanity was about equally divided between his mustache and his music. In the distribution of her gifts, Nature frugally decorated his lip with a glossy beard. This he trained with exactness. The hairs were so thin that if one wandered from its latitude his

equilibrium was jeopardized. He was tall, graceful and of commanding presence. He carried his bugle in a wildcat skin tanned with the hair on. The community, because of his music, contributed to his support. He was amiable and well dressed. He was to the Walla-Wallas what Van Corlear was to the Dutch in New Amsterdam and can be likened unto him, who, Irving says, "stopped occasionally in the villages to eat pumpkin pies and dance at country frolics with the Yankee lasses." He wore a claw-hammer coat adorned with brass buttons.

THE REED-DONNER PARTY.

In the summer of 1846 quite a large emigrant train crossed the Plains, some on their way to Oregon and others having California for their objective point.

Near Fort Bridger the train divided, the two parts pursuing different routes. One party, and the only one to which I can devote any attention, is known in history as the Reed and Donner Company. This company pursued a new road which they explored much of the way. Being detained by the search for new roads, almost perishing for want of water on the desert, and after trying, in vain, to recover eighteen of their oxen that had wandered away at night in search of water, they

did not reach the pass in the California mountains until the thirty-first of October. With a prosperous journey they would have been there by the last of September.

The party told Kit Carson, whom they met on the Plains, that they expected to lay over awhile for the purpose of recruiting themselves and their animals before crossing the mountains. Carson, in reply, said it would be quite late before they reached the foot-hills and as the snow falls much earlier some seasons than it does others, any delay would be dangerous. He advised them by all means to take no chances till they were on the western slope of the Sierras.

The snow, which fell several weeks earlier than autumn than usual, soon accumulated to the depth of fifteen feet, and traveling was at an end for the time being. Not having the heart to relate this story in detail, I will give a few well-authenticated reports referring thereto, and take leave of the subject.

Extracts from a letter from Mr. George McKinstry to Mr. Edwin Bryant:

"Captain E. Kern informed you of the men sent up from this place (Sutter's Fort) to the assistance of the sufferers, when we were first informed of their situation. I will again give you a list of their names, as I think they ought to be recorded in letters of gold: Aquila Glover, R. S. Montrey, Daniel Rhodes, John Rhodes, Daniel Tucker, Joseph Sel, and Edward Copymier. Mr. Glover, who was put in charge of this little

brave band of men, lends me his journal, from which I extract as follows:—‘On the 13th of February, 1847, our party arrived at the Bear River Valley. 14th. Remained in camp preparing packs and provisions. 15th. Left Bear River Valley, and traveled fifteen miles and encamped on Yuba River. 16th. Traveled three miles and stopped to make snowshoes and camped on Yuba River—snow fifteen feet deep, dry and soft. 17th. Traveled five miles. 18th. Traveled eight miles, and encamped at the head of Yuba River. 19th. Traveled nine miles, crossed the summit of the California mountains, and reached part of the suffering company about sundown, in camp near Truckee Lake.’ Mr. Glover informs me that he found them in a most deplorable condition, entirely beyond description. Ten of their number had already died from starvation; and he thinks several others will die in camp, as they are too low to resuscitate. The whole party had been living on bullock-hides four weeks. On the morning of the 20th, the party went down to the camp of Geo. Donner, eight miles below the first camp, and found them with but one hide left. They had come to the conclusion, when that was consumed, to dig up the bodies of those who had died from starvation and use them as food. When the party arrived at the camp, they were obliged to guard the little stock of provisions that they had carried over the mountains on their back,

on foot, for the relief of the poor beings, as they were in such a starving condition that they would have immediately used up all the small store. They even stole the buckskin strings from their snowshoes, and ate them. This brave little band of men immediately left with twenty-one persons, principally women and children, for the settlements. They left all the food they could spare with those (twenty-nine in number) that they were obliged to leave behind, and promised them that they would immediately return to their assistance. They were successful in bringing all safe over the mountains. Four of the children they were obliged to carry on their backs; the balance walked. On their arrival at the Bear River Valley they met a small party with provisions, that Captain Kern, of this fort, had sent for their relief. The same day they met Mr. Reed with fifteen men, on foot, packed with provisions, who ere this have reached the sufferers. Lieutenant Woodworth was going ahead with a full force and will himself visit them in their mountain camp, and see that every person is brought out. Mr. Greenwood was three days behind Mr. Reed, with horses. Captain Kern will remain in camp, with the Indian soldiers, to guard the provisions and horses, and will send the sufferers down to this post as soon as possible, where they will be received by Captain J. A. Sutter with all the hospitality for which he is so celebrated. And in the meantime Captain Sutter will

keep up a communication with Captain Kern's camp, so as to be in readiness to assist him on all occasions. Mr. Glover informed me that the wagons belonging to the emigrants are buried some fifteen feet under the snow. He thinks that it will be some three weeks from this date before Lieutenant Woodworth can arrive at this fort. Mr. Glover left the party at Bear River Valley on express, as I had written to him, by the second party, of the death of one member of his family and the severe illness of his wife. The balance of the party will reach here in some four or five days. The weather is very fine and we have no doubt but that Lieutenant Woodworth will be able to bring all left on the mountains."

The people of San Francisco at a public meeting raised fifteen hundred dollars for an organized party that would penetrate the mountains for the relief of those sufferers.

I will also quote from the "California Star" of April 10, 1847: "A more shocking scene cannot be imagined, than that witnessed by the party of men who went to the relief of the unfortunate emigrants in the California mountains. The bones of those who had died and been devoured by the miserable ones that still survived, were lying around their tents and cabins. Bodies of men, women and children with half the flesh torn from them, lay on every side.

"A woman sat by the side of the body of her hus-

band, who had just died, cutting out his tongue; the heart she had already taken out, broiled, and eaten! The daughter was seen eating the father—the mother that (viz: body) of her children—children that of father and mother. The emaciated, wild, and ghastly appearance of the survivors added to the horror of the scene. Language cannot describe the awful change that a few weeks of dire sufferings had wrought in the minds of these wretched and pitiable beings. Those who, but one month before, would have shuddered and sickened at the thought of eating human flesh, or of killing their companions and relatives to preserve their own lives, now looked upon the opportunity the acts afforded them of escaping the most dreadful of deaths, as a providential interference in their behalf. Calculations were coldly made, as they sat around their gloomy campfires, for the next and succeeding meals. Various expedients were devised to prevent the dreadful crime of murder, but they finally resolved to kill those who had the least claims to longer existence. Just at this moment, however, as if by divine interposition, some of them died, which afforded the rest temporary relief. Some sank into the arms of death cursing God for their miserable fate, while the last whisperings of others were prayers and songs of praise to the Almighty.

“After the first few deaths, but the one all-absorbing thought of individual self-preservation prevailed.

The fountains of natural affection were dried up. The cords that once vibrated with connubial, parental, and filial affection were torn asunder, and each one seemed resolved, without regard to the fate of others, to escape from the impending calamity. Even the wild, hostile mountain Indians, who once visited their camps, pitied them and instead of pursuing the natural impulse of their hostile feelings towards the whites, and destroying them, as they could easily have done, divided their own scanty supply of food with them.

"So changed had the emigrants become, that when the rescuing party arrived with food, some of them cast it aside, and seemed to prefer the putrid human flesh that still remained. The day before the party arrived, one of the emigrants took the body of a child about four years of age, in bed with him, and devoured the whole before morning; and the next day ate another, about the same size, before noon."

By an inventory carefully taken at Camp Desert, it was ascertained that their supply of provisions would not do them till they could reach the Sacramento Valley. Two of their number, C. T. Stanton of Chicago and William McCutchen of Missouri, volunteered to undertake the perilous task of pushing on with all possible dispatch to Sutter's Fort and of returning to the party with such assistance as they could procure. They were hospitably received by General Sutter. Some mules were packed with provisions and Stan-

ton was accompanied by Lewis and Salvador, two of Sutter's most reliable Indians; McCutchen, being sick, was unable to return with them. The two Indians displayed genuine heroism. With all their power of endurance, they perished in the mountains. They refused to eat human flesh. Out of a party of ninety, forty-two perished on the journey, nearly all of them in the mountains.*

WHITE HORSE AND PICKET.

Some time in the autumn of 1848, a resident of Sutter's Fort, who was an emigrant from Oregon and who went by the name of "White Horse," undertook to fence in an open space in the fort. C. E. Picket, Esq., also a resident at the fort, and since a well-known character in the State, claimed the open space, and taking the law in his own hands knocked the fence down. "White Horse" started to rebuild his fence, and Picket interfered; an altercation occurred, and Picket shot and killed his antagonist.

There were then 200 white men at the fort, one of whom (William Turner) was acting as sheriff by appointment of Captain Sutter. He took Picket in charge, detaining him as prisoner. Picket refused to submit, but Turner was a man of great strength and

*For a complete account of this awful affair, the reader is referred to a carefully prepared work by C. F. McGlashan, Esq.

courage and well fitted for his office. He disarmed his prisoner and forced him to submit. It was then and there determined that Picket should be tried for murder. A court was instituted with Sam Brannan on the bench. A jury of eight was impaneled to try the case. The trial came off the same day of the homicide and Picket pleaded his own case. Brannan in his charge to the jury said that they lived in a country where there were laws and that the laws should be obeyed; but that if their verdict be imprisonment there was no prison in the place where the culprit could be kept. The jury, after being out six hours, agreed upon a verdict of not guilty.

In those pioneer days when a man violated a criminal law within the jurisdiction of New Helvetia, he was soon brought to the bar of public justice and awarded a fair and impartial trial and a prompt decision. Every proposal to defer proceedings found a speedy death, ready grave and no resurrection. The time for dallying in voluptuous courts, the lawyers' weal the public's woe, had not arrived. The falling down or selling out of counsel, the bribing of "judge and jury," and the custom of selecting men of confessed ignorance to fix a verdict, were, as far as this locality was concerned, yet in incubation.

MASSACRE OF THE WHITMAN FAMILY.

On Monday, November 29, 1874, the horrible massacre of Dr. Marcus Whitman, his wife and friends, by the Cayuse Indians, took place at the Wailatpu Mission. Dr. Whitman was a man whose characteristics it is pleasing to look back upon; brave in peril, and patient in adversity. He was kind to his fellows and devoted to his calling and to his country. His wife, who was very dear to him, was amiable beyond her sex. The Doctor's noble spirit harbored no malice and his actions were above reproach. He was a friend to the red man; but the behavior of others, who were less kind, diplomatic and considerate, fixed upon him and his its terrible consequences. He was a loss to the moral and intellectual forces of the pioneer west.

THE MORMONS AND THE FLAG.

When the enraged citizens ousted the Mormons from Nauvoo, Illinois, about fifteen hundred of them being disgusted with the American flag and the political institutions over which it waved, took their personal effects and journeyed toward the setting sun. A few of them went to Beaver Island, in Lake Michigan. This beautiful isle lies southwest of Little Traverse Bay and about thirty-five miles from the main-land. It is favored with fertile soil and salubrious air which make it a desirable summer home. The winters, however, are rather severe. In this retreat the Mormons flourished for a number of years. Some of them, being caught thieving on the main-land (the best societies have burdensome members), a body of armed men, self authorized, visited the island and notified them to quit the country within four days. The armed men remained on the island to see if the Mormons honored their request. They honored it. This action of the citizens was not concerted nor even conceived until the offending parties had many times repeated their illicit actions.

One evening a sail was seen to enter a recess in the main-land, whereupon three or four men, induced by curiosity, went to ascertain what was going on.

They caught two men in the act of giving a fat steer passage to Beaver Island. The steer being identified by its owner, the thief was apprehended and chastised. An Irishman, one of the arresting party, took a shovel from the sailboat and handing it to the Mormon said: "Take this shovel, dig a hole in that sand (pointing to a bank), two feet wide, three feet deep an' six feet long, damn quick."

At the time the Mormons left Nauvoo, others were proselyting in the Atlantic states. Prominent among them was Samuel Brannan, who with some assistance, purchased the ship Brooklyn and fitting it out with berths and other passenger accommodations sailed from New York City about the last of January, 1846, well laden with passengers, about two hundred of whom were Mormons.

This party expected to co-operate with the Mormon emigrants who started from Nauvoo, in acquiring from the Mexican government numerous and extensive land grants as near as possible to San Francisco. Brannan, who was a newspaper man and had edited a paper in New York City, brought a printing press and many other things thought to be of great importance in their prospective colony, such as hoes, shovels, plows, harrows, and the like.

With this outfit, the Brooklyn "doubled the Horn" and after a pleasant voyage dropped anchor, in the Bay of San Francisco, August 31, 1846. Montgom-

ery had taken possession of San Francisco but a few weeks before, and had hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the public square. The day on which the Brooklyn sailed through the Golden Gate was unusually mild and beautiful. The grandeur of the landscape stretching away in the distance was softened and blended by a vaporless atmosphere made lovely by the cerulean tints of heaven. This was the long and faithfully sought haven of repose. This was the promised land. Divinity had shaped their ends. Here was the place to warble in an unknown tongue in all the beauty of holiness. Here, on this virgin soil, polygamous institutions should bud and bloom. The atmosphere, so mild and so lovely, had not been contaminated by the bane of legislative enactments or constitutional laws. All the fascinating charms of nature were still rich in virgin purity. This was Eden regained. Every Adam possessing a multiplicity of Eves could bask in the charms of perpetual smiles.

As the proud ship moved slowly and grandly over the dark waters of the bay, and its bows were being kissed by the ripples of a summer's sea, Brannan was observed to lean against the railing and, with his hand shading his face, look long and steadily toward the shore, while his face changed appearance as often as a dying dolphin. All at once his countenance became a picture of despair, and, pointing toward our national

emblem as it waved in all its starry splendor and glory over the public square, exclaimed: "By God! There's that d—d American Flag!"

The foregoing is, by no means, intended as a reflection on the Mormons, or on Mr. Brannan individually. I can realize something of his disappointment at being suddenly advised, by a most reliable counselor, that his hopes of becoming an empire builder in California were forever blighted.

A party was dispatched by the Mormons of San Francisco to the emigrant train that was under the leadership of Brigham Young, bearing the mournful tidings that the United States had taken California, and that it would be well for them to select a "Mecca" somewhere in the interior, where they would be, for a time at least, beyond the polluting and ungodly influences of civilization. The advice was accepted, and the borders of the beautiful Salt Lake, in Utah, became the chosen temporary abode of the sanctified. The Great Salt Lake country in its present condition declares the industry, perseverance and enterprise of the Mormons.

EARLY CALIFORNIA SOCIETY.

Society underwent little perceptible change in California during the forty years immediately preceding the discovery of gold in 1848. Prior to that time the influx of humankind from other nations consisted mostly of trappers, hunters and adventurers, whose influence for good was little felt in society.

Some of them may have enjoyed but little refinement in the country whence they came; and having been absent, through the lapse of long intervals, from the benign influences of society, friendship and love were evidently in a state of social decline. They had gradually become indifferent to the charms of elegance and refinement until they sank to a social condition more rude than that of their former years.

When amiable and refined woman began to favor society in the west with her fascinating charms, a new social era dawned upon this beautiful country. New examples were set, new and commendable emulations were inspired. In the palmy days of pioneer life in California the environments attending a woman's birth or early womanhood cast neither sunshine nor shadow on her present pathway. Wealth gave her no preferment, poverty no subtle slight. Her personality was the blossom of her nature; her politeness was

her passport to circles of the most refined society. Women of humble birth and others whose hopes had been blighted by the pitiless storms of adversity and the sorrows induced by indiscretion, found in California a welcome, a kind word and a helping hand. Society was without caste, without clan. Cheered by the pleasures of companionship, women who had drunk of sorrow's cup came to the surface and, in the hands of social lapidaries, became burnished till they sparkled like diamonds.

At the time of Sutter's advent into the Sacramento valley, society in the more settled portions of the country, where the frequency of neighbors could be regarded as society, was less formal and straight-laced on points of etiquette than it was then, or is now, in Dublin or Paris. "Mrs. Grundy" had not breathed into the ears of dame and lass the contagious fancies of her social frenzy. The cinches of contortion were strangers to their zones. They had no strings to restrict, no formulas to direct.

The complexion of the girls of "sweet sixteen," which in a sunny clime is so apt to be inconsonant with beauty, was, in some instances, a happy blending of olive and rose tints. Their dark expressive eyes were ornamented with long, black lashes which formed a beautiful contrast with the soft bloom of the cheek. Their lips were full and pink, and when parted, the beholder was delighted with a display of pearly teeth

set with unsurpassed regularity. Their chief pleasure was found at the dancing party, where they glided through the mazy throng like celestial visions, stepping the measures with adroitness as the musician swept them from his instrument.

It was a rare treat to witness a spirited conversation, in the Spanish language, between two of those musically voiced women. Especially was it entertaining if the speakers were courteous enough for one to remain quiet while the other was talking. When more than two of them were present, the charm of the conversation was absent; as all, I am told, would talk simultaneously, as women are wont (with some exceptions) the world over. Sometimes they rode to the party on favorite ponies, but more frequently went on foot, did the distance not exceed five or six miles, carrying in their hands a pair of slippers, which they adjusted by the wayside before arriving at the scene of festivity. No hose were worn. When one of them accepted an invitation from a cavalier to attend a party she considered him obligated to bestow upon her so much of his attention as she might require (the reader is left to estimate that amount) during the life of that occasion, and she would insist that her social rights be respected. Her assumed jurisdiction over the deportment of her beau ceased, however, with the passing festival, leaving him to the exercise of his own discretion respecting the future.

If a man were apprehended for wife stealing he was sentenced to a bastinado, unless the man whose wife was stolen thought the thief had done him a favor, chances being about equal.

Social pleasures consisted, also, in the neighborhood visits, on which occasions the visitors were treated to song and guitar music and a collation of wine and sweetmeats. They were also frequently treated to exhibitions of horsemanship, which were participated in by the young cavaliers and witnessed by the ladies, who bestowed a bouquet or garland on the hero of the day.

Those young men were, as I have said, among the cleverest horseback riders in the world, the Cossack and Mameluke not excepted. A cavalier who could not pick a silver dollar from the ground when riding at high speed, was not looked upon as an expert equestrian. The rider was less fond of his horse than he was of exploiting him; for, in fact, when the noble animal was worn out and broken down he went to grass, like an old broken-down politician with some exceptions as to reputation, and another was selected from the goodly number his owner controlled, to take his place. A representative Californian of riper years, whom the spirit of frolic had deserted for a wilder and otherwise more cherished abode, unlike the ambitious youth, was more attached to his horse than to his reputation as a horseman, treating him not only with kind

care, but with caresses of fondness. His horse came in for the lion's share of his affection, and the residue was divided between his dogs and his wife; a custom which time with its incessant changes has not consigned to the past. Why these men were excellent riders will be understood on a moment's reflection. The most of them were owners of cattle for which they must care by corralling, branding and moving from one range to another, all of which must be performed by men in the saddle. Those who owned no cattle were employed by men who did.

Business pursuits called boys into the saddle at an early age and kept them there a great deal of the time. As experience is the mother of skill, they became expert horsemen as a direct and natural consequence. It is easily perceived that a primitive Californian was organized for enduring a vast amount of "rest." Some of them being "born tired" found difficulty in obtaining sufficient rest; being scarcely visited in life with the delicious repose that follows a protracted mental or physical exertion. The California women as a rule were more bland and refined than the men. Was there ever a rule that suited all tribes and nations with fewer exceptions?

Gambling was also a favorite amusement, and the losing party appeared to enjoy himself as well as the winner, always promptly paying the losses. Gambling

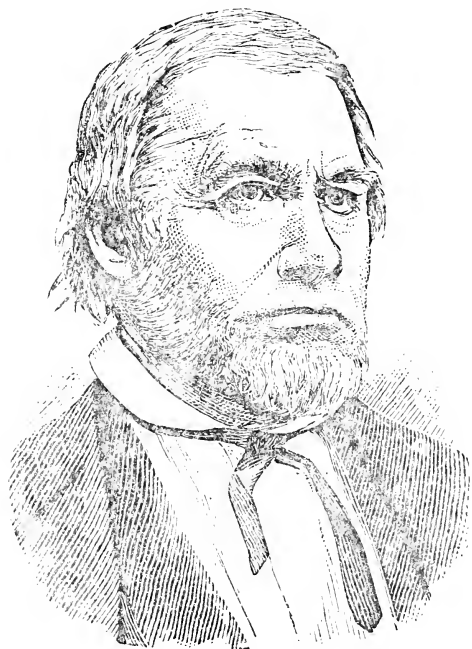
was not confined to the men. Women participated in the exciting game, retiring from the field always before their money was gone.

JAMES W. MARSHALL.

James W. Marshall, of whom frequent mention is made in this work, was born in Hope township, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, in 1812. His father was a coach and wagon builder, and he was brought up to the same trade. His early life presents no features of special interest; but at early manhood he began to yearn for pioneer life, and turning his back on the place of his birth, he journeyed to Crawfordsville, Indiana, where he engaged his services for a few months as carpenter, after which he journeyed westward to Warsaw, Illinois. After a brief stay at this place, not having reached the Mecca of his pilgrimage, he resumed his journey westward, pulling up this time at the Platte Purchase, near Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, where he located a homestead and entered into trading.

He struggled for several years in this place, contending with poverty, in chief, and ague and fever as its auxiliaries. A party going to California having been made up in the neighborhood, he held a "round up," gathering together his stock (one horse), and joined

the party. They started about the first of May, 1844, with a train of a hundred wagons. They reached California by the way of Oregon, proceeded thence to Shasta, and went into camp at Cache Creek, about forty miles from New Helvetia.



JAMES W. MARSHALL.

Sutter's Fort was already erected, as we have seen, and was regarded with envy by the Mexicans, awe by the Indians and admiration by all others. Thither Marshall went, and entered into Sutter's employ some time in July, 1845.

Sutter was engaged in raising grain and stock, and also in merchandising on a small scale, his trade being mostly in blankets and supplies for trappers and hunters. Marshall having become accustomed in early life to the use of tools, and possessing some knowledge of mechanical principles, was employed for a time in constructing and repairing spinning wheels, making plows and in building and repairing carts and ox yokes, and in the capacity of Jack-at-all-trades.

As a man, he was stubborn about most things, and wanting in perseverance and mental concentration in any realm of lofty thought. Whatever may be said for or against him, he certainly was a useful man in and about the colony.

The honor of discovering gold in California is justly settled upon him by facts and by common consent. True it is that prior discoveries were made and gold was actually taken from a mine far south of Coloma and conveyed to the mint in Philadelphia before Marshall came to California. This find, however, attracted but little attention at the time, as the precious metal did not appear in quantities sufficient to induce any extended mining experiments, and the mine, as a wealth-producing agency, acquired no reputation. At other times gold was found, but there was little importance attached to the discovery, as it was but little known and promised only small and uncertain returns for time and money expended.

As early as 1579, Sir Francis Drake, the noted freebooter, stole a bar of gold from an Indian who was sleeping on the bank of a small stream that empties into the Pacific Ocean between San Francisco Bay and Bodega. The Indian who was despoiled of his treasure was in love with a chief's daughter whom the chief had promised him provided he would bring him a bar of gold, the dimensions of which were given. When on his way to see the maid's father and deliver to him the treasure, being fatigued and overcome by sleep, he laid himself down where the waves murmured his lullaby. While there Drake despoiled him.

In the Coloma gold fields there were two competitors for the honor of finding the first gold. One Peter Wymer claimed to have found the first nugget of gold in the tail-race, and that his wife boiled it in a kettle of lye to ascertain if it were gold. This report evidently is true. At all events, for the sake of argument, we will concede its correctness. Inasmuch as the fact of Wymer's find remained a secret until long after Marshall brought his discovery to light, the said Wymer can never share the honor of the great discovery: The world has settled it upon James Wilson Marshall, and upon him alone the honor must rest of opening the gates to the boundless gold field, and thereby creating the greatest exodus of which history furnishes any account.

The Norsemen undoubtedly discovered America

long before Columbus came here. But few, however, knew this fact during the lifetime of the great Genoese navigator. It is reported on excellent authority that Columbus knew all about the colony of the Norsemen in America earlier than 1492. The existence of America was not known to the world generally till after the voyage of Columbus had been made, and the honor is placed to his credit.

It is a pleasure to state that in February, 1872, the legislature of California passed an Act appropriating \$200 per month for two years for Marshall's relief; providing, however, that the appropriation cease at his death in the event that he should die before the expiration of two years. This appropriation was kept up until March, 1876, when the legislature passed an Act appropriating \$100 per month for two years, providing that the warrants be not drawn after his death. The last seven years of Marshall's life he drew no pension or relief from the State, living in poverty and alone.

His friends tried to make a great man of him, but failed. He was not created for that purpose, the elements requisite to greatness not being inherent in his nature. He discovered the gold only by incident while in the employ of another man. Had he been in search of gold, basing a conclusion on the deductions of geology, or the mineral conditions of the soil, or upon any environments that led him to suspect the presence of

gold.--I repeat, had he found gold under circumstances like these, he would have possessed an entirely different organism, and one which might have borne him to greatness on the tide of his important discovery.

He was morbidly jealous of Sutter, who was very popular with the pioneers, while he was precisely the reverse. Being disappointed in some of his earlier aspirations, the shady side of life having been reached with no well-defined object established, his financial and social status having remained below a standard he might have desired, and possessing no strong and happy ties of kindred to bind him to any particular locality, he drifted about on the tide of circumstances, until, bending under the accumulated burdens of advanced age, worn out and broken down, a condition hastened by irregular habits, he died alone in a cabin at Kelsey near Coloma on the 10th day of August, 1885, in his seventy-fourth year.

At an expense of \$5,000 a monument has since been erected to his memory and to perpetuate the day and place of his important discovery. The monument stands on the summit of Marshall Hill in Coloma at an altitude of 3,000 feet above the American River, a half-mile from Sutter's mill-site.

THE GOLD FIND.

On being discharged from the army at the close of the war with Mexico, some of the Mormons came direct to San Francisco and Monterey, where a few of them did good service in the conquest of California. Their forces became so augmented by the Brooklyn passengers that they were a power in the land.

The rapid influx of immigrants increased the demand for lumber. Obedient to this growing demand, Sutter sent an exploring party with instructions to search for good timber, good water-power and good location, with accessibility as the determining condition.

James W. Marshall was selected to perform the task. Accordingly, some time in May, 1847, he was dispatched, with one of Sutter's most intelligent and trustworthy Indians as interpreter and guide, up the south fork of the American River to select a mill-site. Precipitous hills, overhanging cliffs and deep canyons, along which a mountain stream dashes its winding way, admit of but few available mill-sites. In due time Marshall reported favorably, stating that he had found a desirable location for a mill at a place called Coloma, about forty miles east of the Fort. The water power, he said, was fine, the timber abundant

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and of an excellent quality, and the plant could be easily reached by a system of ridges extending along the foot-hills in nearly a direct line from the fort to the mill.

Not until late in August was the contract for building the mill entered into between Marshall and Sutter. This contract, which was drawn by Gen. John Bidwell, provided that Marshall should erect and run the mill and receive one-fourth of the lumber as compensation for his services, and Sutter was to furnish the building materials and all the supplies and board and pay the men employed. Heretofore white oak puncheon and lumber cut out of Digger-pine and oak with a whip-saw comprised the lumber used in the colony. Sutter had procured some second-hand lumber, of inferior quality, in his Russian purchase.

Marshall so far completed the mill as to cut some lumber in January, 1848. By experimenting, it was found that the tail-race was insufficient to convey the water from the wheel. To remove this difficulty the water was turned into the race from the river (the water supplying said race being diverted from the river channel by means of a wing-dam) each night for the purpose of deepening its bed and cutting away its margin.

One morning, about the 24th of January, while examining the race, which was now empty, to ascertain what service the stream had rendered him through the

night, he saw some yellow grains sticking in the crevices of the rocks in the bed of the tail-race, which, on examination, he found to be some kind of metal, and it occurred to him that it might be gold.



SUTTER'S MILL.

Late that night, in a heavy rain, he arrived at the fort, wet, bespattered with mud, and appearing very strangely. Sutter's surprise at his arrival on such a dark and stormy night at so late an hour was increased when Marshall said he wished to see him alone.

To gratify Marshall they repaired to a private room. Sutter knew not what to think of the singular behavior of Marshall, who now asked to have the door locked. Thinking it inexpedient to lock himself in a room alone with him, he remained inert for awhile. On becoming convinced that they would not be disturbed, Marshall drew a pouch from his pocket and emptied half an ounce or more of the precious grains upon the table. The pieces of yellow metal thus exhibited, varied in sizes of which a grain of wheat would be an average. Sutter calmly asked him where he got it. Marshall said he picked it up in the tail-race at the saw-mill at Coloma; that the laborers, whites and Indians, were picking it up, and that he believed it could be obtained in large quantities. Sutter, being incredulous, expressed some doubt about its being gold. Marshall, aglow with excitement, said he was certain it was gold. After a little search Sutter found among his stores a bottle of nitric acid, and submitted the metal to a chemical test, when it was found to be gold. How big with importance was this embryo in the womb of the future! It was the aurora of a great commercial era.

Marshall returned to Coloma that same night, making a horseback journey of eighty miles without an interval for sleep or recuperation, and more than half the distance was covered in a night made dark and dismal by overhanging clouds and a drizzling rain. He

insisted that Sutter go with him to Coloma that night. Sutter declined, saying he must give orders to the men in his employ about the flour-mills under construction, and in the tannery and fields, but that he would go the next day. He accordingly set out for Coloma early the next morning.

On reaching a flat within fifteen miles of the saw-mill, he saw something coming out of a thicket of chaparral (a shrub with a multitude of woody, brushy stems densely interwoven) on all fours, which he at first thought was a grizzly bear, but on closer inspection found to be Marshall, who, in his anxiety and impatience, was returning from the mill to meet him.

Instead of being elated over the gold find, Sutter was visited by dark forebodings. He had been to \$25,000 expense on his flour-mills at Brighton and the race leading to them. (Brighton is on the American River, six miles east of the Fort.) Both mill and race were in an unfinished condition. He had expended \$10,000 on his saw-mill at Coloma, which would eventually remain idle should the gold fever set in, and the tannery and grain fields would suffer for want of laborers when a knowledge of the discovery became general.

To guard against a calamity so wisely predicted, he modestly asked his employees to keep the matter a secret for six weeks, during which time he would push his unfinished business and shape things generally for

the great carnival which he saw was soon to follow. With his request his men promised faithful compliance.

THE SECRET OUT.

The secret was too good to be long kept. True it is "murder will out." Sutter sent a teamster to the saw-mill with supplies. Hearing in some way while at the mill that gold had been found in the race, he managed to get some by trading tobacco for it. On returning to the fort he repaired to a neighboring store kept by Samuel Brannan and asked credit for a bottle of whiskey. As whiskey was scarce and the teamster slow pay, the merchant refused to let him have it without the cash. The teamster assured him he had plenty of money, exhibiting at the same time a quantity of gold dust. No "pearls before swine" there. The astonished Mormon let him have the whiskey and asked him where he got the gold. At first he refused to tell. After imbibing quite freely of the liquor, its inspiring fumes getting into his combination, opened his safe. Losing restraint he became loquacious and told all about the discovery at the mill.

The exciting tale spread like a scandal in high life, running up and down the coast like a tidal wave. Nor was the news long limited to the Pacific shore. It crossed the continent and traversed the seas, and in a

few months found its way to every quarter of the globe.

SUTTER AFTER THE GOLD FIND.

With the discovery of gold, General Sutter's great misfortunes began. The first summer after the era established by the gold find, he was visited with severe losses. Husbandmen deserted the fields; the shops were without journeymen and the shuttle went to sleep in the loom. All the help about the kitchen and garden, except an Indian boy, were among the gold-seekers. The distillery was idle and hides partly tanned went to ruin for want of care. Less than one-half of a wheat crop, estimated at forty thousand bushels, was harvested, the rest being fed to, and trampled by half-famished teams of late immigrants who regarded the opportunity as a divine interposition. Their faith in divine mercy being so strong they dispensed with the formality of obtaining permission of its owner. Some of the more devout, after having utilized the field, were considerate enough to thank God for the blessing.

The Indians, on whom Sutter had depended for harvest hands and for help generally, had contracted the gold fever and gone to the scene of discovery. The ferry, hitherto in charge of trustworthy Indians who did good work and made faithful returns of the ferryage-money, was converted, by practice, to the use of

strangers who neither sought permission to use the ferry nor returned for the favor the small value of a second-hand "Thank you." This course was pursued as if consonant to the code of divine procedure.

In his diary Sutter says:

"May 19th. The great rush from San Francisco arrived at the Fort, all my friends and acquaintances filled up the houses and the whole fort, I had only one little Indian boy to make them roasted rippes etc., as my cooks left me like everybody else, the Merchants, Doctors, Lawyers, Sea-captains etc., all came up and did not know what to do, all was in confusion, all left their wives and families in San Francisco, and those which had none locked their doors, abandoned their houses, offered them for sale cheap, a few hundred Dollars House and Lot (Lots which are worth now \$100,000 and more) some of these men were just like greazy (crazy). Some of the most prudentest of the Whole, visited the mines and returned immediately and began to do a very profitable business, and vessels soon came from every where with all kind of Merchandise, the whole old thrash which was lying for years unhoused, on the Coasts of South & Central America, Mexico, Sand Wich Island etc., all found a good Market here."

Sutter kept a doctor a great deal of the time, and people received gratis treatment. For awhile cathartic pills, of an inferior quality, were thirty dollars a box or one dollar apiece.

THE GREAT CARNIVAL.

When by incident the gravel-beds of Coloma dazzled the admiration of man with their golden splendor, the book of fate appeared to open at a propitious page. Wild, romantic, and fascinating were the scenes that followed. Imagination was never more active—never more fertile. Fancy breathed enchanting strains and the heart danced to her charming melody. The mind became a garden of thought, and philanthropy was its richest jewel. Imagination busied herself in constructing palatial dwellings. Nightingales allured by fragrant exotics were being attuned to discourse special music among the fountains where moonbeams play. The world is soon to take on new and more fairy-like conditions. Everybody is to be happy. Halls of pleasure will be more inviting; their garlands being more varied—more fragrant; and their music more voluptuous. Stars of descending night will appear in sweeter luster as their trembling beams speed away through beauteous fields of purple, of crimson and of gold. Full-throated birds of every clime, as though lately taught in the conservatory of nature, will vocalize meadow and grove with new and improved melodies. Even the cricket in the crevice of the ancestral hearth

is attuning his chirp to elegance of song. The katydid and whip-poor-will lend the twilight new charms and inspire the listener with ennobling thoughts of twilight serenity. Companions are becoming dearer and offspring more lovely; the dimples of children being more frequent—more perfect. Mortgages will be lifted and steeds, of Arabian splendor, will prance over boulevards before carriages that display the finest work of genius and of art. So fancy leads the imagination astray.

The airy part of these new environments—new creations—is already completed. A strong desire to enjoy the fruition of these newly inspired hopes and to dress in habiliments of ease and honor, urge men, with irresistible force, into great undertakings and prepare them for enduring the hardships incident thereto. The stories of extracting the precious metal at Coloma were overdrawn and misleading in their inception; falling on responsive soil, as they evidently did, they grew like "Jonah's gourd."

Strange as it may appear, these exciting stories lost no quality, no substance, no charm in their rapid and frequent changes from country to country and from man to man all over the world. California with its possibilities became the absorbing topic of the day. It was discussed on the street, in social circles and in fact everywhere that refinement or intelligence prevailed. The different routes to California were looked up and

the expense, hardship and perils of each were studiously inquired into.

Navigation companies in New York City, Boston and Liverpool lost little time in establishing steamship lines by both the Cape Horn and Panama routes to San Francisco. Every tub of a boat which, through the energy of crew and passengers could be kept afloat by bumping and bailing, was placed on a dry dock, where its keel was calked and daubed, and the boat, after being thus slimed over and newly named, was lined up as a new and stanch steamer of the Panama line. The Isthmus was crossed on burros or on foot, only to find on the other side exorbitant prices asked for the necessities of life.

Navigation companies, for the purpose of inducing travel, hired publishers to print and circulate fabulous reports about the quantity of gold actually extracted from the mines. Huge pieces of iron were gilded in imitation of gold, placed in showcases and windows along the streets of the great cities in America and Europe, and labeled "From California." All this was done to catch the eye of the curious sightseer. They caught it. Newspaper men, to increase the sale of their wares, viewed and presented only the bright side of the conditions, until their sheets were aglow with paragraphs drawn from an excited imagination. These papers sold like frogs in a French market. Corporations and individuals who were financially interested in

the commercial world contributed to keep the prevailing excitement alive.

The public pulse indicated fever heat. The moving masses, agitated as they were, were quite willing to take great chances and they certainly took them. Within six months from the time gold was found in the tail-race of Sutter's mill, a carnival was on which exceeded in magnitude anything of its kind the world had ever witnessed. A fairy tale had been told and its fascinating influence was felt throughout Christendom. This, too, was at a time when telegraphy was in its infancy and telephones were unknown. The rage so exciting, so contagious and so far-reaching, gave rise to an involuntary commotion, which, in extent of range and the consequences entailed, shadows the records of all time. The great thoroughfares of the world were soon thronged with the curious, the venturesome and the determined. Souls who had hitherto recoiled at the thought of hazarding the dangers of the deep were now upon the furrowed bosom of the sea, plunging toward an unknown destiny.

Plains hitherto unconquered, in fact unknown, save to the red man who with tomahawk in hand shadowed the trail of the moving mass of fortune-seekers, were the scenes of caravans and of "prairie schooners." In the commercial centers of the world was seen baggage labeled or tagged for Sutter's Fort, California. From the time gold was first found by Marshall in the

tail-race of Sutter's mill down to 1852, more than one hundred thousand people crossed the Plains, and enough more came by way of Cape Horn and Panama to people an empire. All nations were soon represented here. Bustle and confusion followed. Mining camps, tented hamlets and flourishing villages burst into existence like the unfolding petals of an evening primrose. The imagination displayed by the writer of *Aladdin's Lamp* hardly outclassed the realities embraced in the tales of forty-nine.

Thousands of men, unhoused, untented, unknown, rolled themselves in blankets, took shelter under a cluster of stars, and quietly lay down to dream of their boyhood home, the sweet faces and forms of loved ones and the possibilities that awaited them in this faraway land of strangers. The long, weary and uncertain transit of the mail added a sombre complexion to the gloom of solitude and the immensity of space between them and all that was sacred to their memory.

The hope of some day returning, with a recruited finance, to those who looked to them for guidance and support, battled bravely with the invading forces of despondency. Some men were successful to their fullest expectations. Others less favorably starred and sore over misfortune, pined under the influence of disappointment and finally sank under a burden of care and sorrow into unknown graves, scattered here

and there all over the gold-bearing regions of the Western shore.

California was peopled with no special class of society. Every grade of human kind was found here, from the erudite, the elegant, the wise, and the good, down through every intermediate caste, to the contemptible scum of God's creation, desperate characters, for whom the hangman, in the land they had blest by leaving it, was sighing, and who sought to lose their identity amidst this commingling of nationalities.

A man was nowhere safe, unless he was cautious and on his guard. But the better class, greatly outnumbering the others, came to the front as the security of rights and the good of the commonwealth demanded. Scoundrels, of both proud and humble birth, who played their "tricks" on the unwary, were promptly dealt with. It became quite a fad for men to die with their boots on or "erect without touching bottom." Rather an awkward way of "going out."

"In the days of old, the days of gold" the gentle sex were left at home, the journey being too long and hazardous, and the sunshine and comforts of life at the journey's end too uncertain to encourage thoughts of embarking them in the enterprise. As a consequence of these kindly and prudent conclusions, a dearth of women prevailed in California.

In 1850, an average-looking, well-favored young woman, who performed with cleverness on a guitar

or piano or could sing a song fairly well, could command one hundred dollars per month, to just stop at a hotel to draw and entertain custom. One woman now living in Sacramento and who is still amiable and accomplished, although in the twilight of life, declined that salary. Women were, as they are yet, quite a curiosity. They were really at a premium. (On account of their novelty, I suppose.) Some time before the gold discovery at Coloma, some men in going from Folsom to Mormon Island, discovered in the road some tracks made by a woman. This discovery was so exhilarating to them, that they swung their hats over their heads and gave three rousing cheers. They built a fence around the tracks, posted a notice on a tree near by, referring to them, and remained there telling stories and singing songs till a late hour at night. Being denied the pleasure of seeing a woman, they enjoyed seeing her tracks.

Rufus Butterfield Esq., a distinguished gentleman who was long a resident of Sacramento, informed me that he was merchandising in Nevada County, California, about this time, and being called to "Hangtown" (Placerville) on some business, left his store unlocked while he was gone. He posted in a conspicuous place on his store the following notice: "I expect to be absent a day or two, possibly longer, during which time you are instructed to help yourselves to what you need. You will find gold dust in a tin box on

a shelf to make change." So far as honesty is concerned society was at its best. A man could not be hired to steal. He knew he would "stretch hemp" if caught at it or if convicted of it.

"New Helvetia, March 27, 1848.

Mr. Jared Sheldon on Cosumnes River.

Dear Sir:

I wish to know when I can send a wagon for the remaining 14 fanegas ground into flour. I wish you could do it immediately as we are entirely out of flour.

You consider my pay not so good as Mr. Cordna's who get it ground at 50 Cents per fanega and you charge me One Dollar per fanega. Every thing which I have to dispose of, and which I sell, is all understood as Cash price, because it is no more like formerly trade and Cash price. I spoke with Mr. Daylor about the leather, so soon as the Launch arrive I shall have some ready for you, and likewise Sugar, Coffe & other articles. Hourly I look for the Launch, she cannot be far, but she have no wind.

I remain respectfully,

Yours truly

J. A. Sutter.

Copied, April 10th, 1904.

J. A. SUTTER CONVEYS ESTATE TO J. A. SUTTER, JR.

In the month of October, 1848, Captain Sutter conveyed his property, real and personal, to his son J. A. Sutter Jr. In his Russian purchase, Sutter contracted to pay for the property, as has been shown on a former page, in annual installments. Reverses having visited him through the lawlessness of others during the conquest of California and subsequently, he was unable to free himself from these obligations. To recover, the governor of the Russian province of Alaska threatened to institute proceedings against him, which would have wronged other creditors and sacrificed needlessly a vast amount of property. With no other view than to avert such a calamity, did Sutter transfer his property to his son. Peter H. Burnett, a distinguished gentleman and subsequently governor of California, who acted as Sutter's attorney in settling the business, says John A. Sutter, Jr., was requested by his father to pay all dues at the earliest moment possible. Burnett says in his history that there was no design to defraud the creditors; but on the contrary, time proved that the course pursued was the wisest and most just, under the circumstances, to all the creditors.

Burnett further says: "By the middle of August,

1849, the last debt that ever came to my knowledge had been paid."

THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

The First Constitutional Convention met in Colton Hall in Monterey, September 1, 1849, and adjourned October 13. The constitution framed by this convention was adopted by the people at the election of November 13, 1849. Bennet Riley was at the time military governor of the Territory. This constitution was the instrument through which California became a State. The convention contained some remarkable men, whose work was accomplished rapidly, effectively and without any preliminary draft of any kind as a guide.

General John A. Sutter was a member of the convention and his closing address to the military governor, General Riley, was as follows:

"General, I have been appointed by the delegates elected by the people of California to form a constitution, to address you in their names and in behalf of the whole people of California and express the thanks of the convention for the aid and co-operation they have received from you in the responsible duty of creating a State government. And, Sir, the convention, as you will perceive from the official records, duly appreciates the great and important services you have rendered to

our common country, and especially to the people of California, and entertains the belief that you will receive from the whole people of the United States when you retire from your duties here that verdict so grateful to the heart of every patriot: 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.' "

NOTICE TO SQUATTERS.

Some of the emigrants who came to California in 1849 disregarded Sutter's rights to the extent of pitching tents and even building houses on his land without his permission. To restrain such lawlessness he caused to be published in the Placerville Times of May 5, 1849, the following notice to squatters:

"All persons are hereby cautioned not to settle, without my permission, on any land in this Territory. Said land is bounded as follows: Commencing on the North, in latitude thirty-nine degrees, thirty-three minutes and forty-five seconds, at a point on the East bank of the Sacramento River, running thence East three leagues beyond Feather River; thence South to latitude thirty-eight degrees, forty-one minutes and thirty-two seconds; thence West to said Sacramento River; thence up and along the course of the said Sacramento River to the place of beginning, excepting a certain tract, included in the above, lying on the East side of the said Sacramento River; bounded on

the North by latitude thirty-nine degrees, one minute and forty-five seconds, and on the South by the American Fork, granted by the Republic of Mexico to one Elias Grimes."

"John A. Sutter, Jr."

SQUATTER RIOTS.

The rapid and incessant influx of fortune-seekers from all parts of the world gave birth in New Helvetia to a city of tents. Lumber was scarce and expensive, being \$500 per thousand at Sutter's mill. There were barely houses enough in the settlement to accommodate those living there when the tidal wave of human beings rolled over the Sacramento Valley. Ere the lapse of many months after the gold find, Sutter's land title was questioned; generally, however, by people who were ignorant of the facts in the case or of the law relating to them.

Sam Brannan, a vigorous, active and able man, gave in the squatter riots all the force of his genius to the support of Sutter.

As early as 1850, a squatters' association was formed with its headquarters in Sacramento; and of course an anti-squatters' association was soon organized in opposition. The word squatter, as used here, is construed to mean one who settled, or claimed the

right to settle, on the lands embraced in Sutter's possessions, against his consent. Those holding lands acquired from Sutter resolved to protect them even though it be at some hazard. The disturbance began to assume a serious character some time in '49 and continued to increase in violence until litigation and riot ensued. Charles Robinson built a house on a lot that H. A. Schoolcraft claimed to own. The latter petitioned the city council to remove it. They did so. Robinson then sued the council and was defeated.

On the 10th of May, 1850, Jno. P. Rogers and De-witt J. Burnett commenced action against Jno. T. Madden under the statute providing for "Unlawful entries and detainers." The case was tried in the recorder's court before B. F. Washington presiding, who returned a judgment against the defendant. The case was appealed to the county court, where the decision of the court below was affirmed.

THE SQUATTER PROCLAMATION.

“To the people of Sacramento City :

“It is well known that a few individuals have seized upon nearly all the arable public lands in this county, and the following are some of the means they have resorted to, in order to retain the property thus taken :

“First—They have used force and torn down the buildings of the settlers, and driven them from their homes by riotous mobs.

“Second—They have used threats of violence, even to the taking of life, if the occupant or settler persisted in defending his property, and thus extorted from the timid their rightful possessions.

“Third—They have passed or procured the passage of certain laws in the so-called legislature of California, for the purpose, as their attorneys affirm, of protecting themselves and removing the settlers from the land they may occupy whether right or wrong,—thus settling the question of title in an assumed legislative body, which question can alone be settled by the Supreme Court of the United States.

“Fourth—Under said legislative regulations, by them called laws, they have continually harassed the settler with suits, and in many instances compelled him to abandon his home for want of means to pay the

costs of their courts. Many others have paid these costs with the hope of carrying their cause through these so-called courts to the proper tribunal for final decision, viz: The Supreme Court of the United States.

"But these hopes were vain, for Judge Willis, so called, has decided that from his decision there is no appeal.

"And now, inasmuch as the so-called legislature is not recognized by Congress, and their rules and regulations not approved, and are therefore of no binding force upon the citizens of the United States, but simply advisory, and inasmuch as the so-called law of 'forcible entry and detainer' if passed for the purpose affirmed by their council, namely, to drive off settlers, with or without title, is unconstitutional, and would be in any State; the people in this community called settlers, and others who are friends of justice and humanity, in consideration of the above, have determined to disregard all decisions of our courts in land cases and all summons or executions by the sheriff, constable, or other officer of the present county or city touching this matter. They will regard the said officers as private citizens, as in the eyes of the constitution they are, and hold them accountable accordingly. And, moreover, if there is no other appeal from Judge Willis, the settlers and others, on the first show of violence to their persons or property,

either by the sheriff or other person, under color of any execution or writ of restitution, based on any judgment or decree of any court in this county, in an action to recover possession of land, have deliberately resolved to appeal to arms and protect their sacred rights, if need be, with their lives.

"Should such be rendered necessary by the acts of the sheriff or others, the settlers will be governed by martial law. All property, and the persons of such as do not engage in the contest, will be sacredly regarded and protected by them, whether landholders or otherwise, but the property and lives of those who take the field against them will share the fate of war."

This card of the squatters increased the excitement in the community to such an intensity as to make collision and bloodshed inevitable. The card was pronounced to be a declaration of civil war and enlisted many people in the contest against the squatters who had previously favored them by a sort of passive approbation. On the 11th of August, the squatters held a meeting upon the levee in Sacramento, which we find thus reported by the Transcript, of August 12th, 1850.

"THE SQUATTER MEETING ON THE LEVEE."

"Resistance of Law Promulgated—Defence of Squatters' Rights to Death—Intense Excitement.

"The meeting of the Squatters, at the foot of J street, on Saturday evening was largely attended. The

proceedings were characterized by great excitement, with a mixture of mirth and sparkling wit, which made the meeting decidedly 'rich and racy.' When we arrived, Dr. Robinson, chairman of the meeting, was reading a series of resolutions, declarative of the sentiments of the Squatters. Among others, was a resolution to resist decisions made by Judge Willis, of the County Court.

"A motion was adopted that the resolutions be taken up separately. At this stage of the proceedings, loud calls were made for different speakers—McKune, Kewen, Brannan, Barton, Lee, McClatchy, etc.

"Mr. McKune appeared on the stand, and had proceeded about three-quarters of an hour, in an exposition of the Sutter title and defence of the Squatters, when he was interrupted by loud cries for 'a new speaker,' 'Brannan, Kewen,' &c.

"The chairman at length succeeded in restoring order, assuring the audience that Mr. Brannan should be heard when Mr. McKune closed.

"During his speech, Mr. McKune made a statement in regard to Mr. Sutter's place of residence, that if he had one any more than another it was at Hock Farm and not at the Fort, which was promptly pronounced 'false' by Mr. Brannan. This renewed the commotion, and amidst a goodly sprinkling of 'noise and confusion,' Mr. McKune had retired.

"The cries for different speakers were both 'loud

and long.' Mr. Brannan and Judge Wilson took the stand. The latter stated he had just returned to the city with a complete translation of the Mexican laws in relation to land titles, and proceeded to show that the Squatters were vastly mistaken in regard to one or two of the arguments they used in support of their rights and adverse to the validity of Capt. Sutter's title.

"Disorder again reigned supreme, until Mr. Brannan had gotten fully under headway. Mr. B. proceeded to show that he was justifiable in pronouncing the statement made by Mr. McKune as being 'false, untrue.' Mr. B. also adverted to his agency in removing a Squatter from his land, 'Land that had been paid for, with money he had earned by hard work.'

"Col. E. J. Kewen was loudly called for. After considerable tumult, that gentleman took the stand and was proceeding, when he was interrupted by cries of 'Who's the speaker?' 'Give us your name?' 'My name,' said Col. K., 'is Ed Kewen, a man who is not afraid to face any populace, or give expression to the honest convictions of his heart at any time, or under any circumstances.' 'Are you a land-holder?' 'Yes, I have a few acres of land, which I have honestly acquired—land which I bought and paid for.' Col. K. remarked that many of those who were now here claiming land, had been deluded by designing persons, —that at heart they were honest men; and alluded to

the general integrity of the Anglo-Saxon race. Whilst indulging in this strain, he was interrupted with cries of 'soft soap.' 'Yes,' replied the speaker, 'I believe there is a little too much LIE in it, and I will forbear.' Col. K. referred to the decision of Judge Willis, and controverted the position assumed by Mr. McKune. His remarks were received with plaudits on one side and disapprobation on the other.

"Dr. Robinson, the chairman, asked leave to address the meeting; at the same time Mr. Queen applied for a similar favor. Mr. Queen was denied the privilege, whereupon he turned to the assemblage, and put the question for permission for the chair, which was also refused." (Roars of laughter.)

"Here there was a perfect 'war of words' and bandying of set phrases between the Squatters and others. The reading of the resolutions was loudly called for, when Dr. Robinson proceeded to read the first, and then delivered a speech of considerable length in defence of the resolutions. Dr. R. closed with the remark, that, as for himself, he meant to defend the property he had settled upon, at all hazards."

Madden retained possession of his premises for some time, by the defence of members of the association. The house itself became a sort of garrison for the association, containing a variety of muskets, pistols, and some very antiquated sabres and swords. The sheriff, in his endeavors to execute the writ of

restitution, discovered a number of individuals, whom he knew, among the party resisting his authority, and reported the names of Charles Robinson, and others. and warrants for their arrest were issued by Justice Sackett. The excitement continued to increase and hasty and unwarrantable acts were committed on both sides for several days. On the morning and through the day of the 14th, a crisis arrived, which can be best appreciated by a republication of the incidents as then recorded by the journals :

(From the Daily Times of August 15, 1850.)

"YESTERDAY."

"At 2 o'clock a body of Squatters, numbering about forty, proceeded to the foot of I Street, on the Levee, and undertook to regain possession of a lot of ground, which had been lately in the occupation of one of their party. They were fully armed, and a general understanding prevailed that their object included the liberation of the two men committed the day before to the prison ship, upon the charge of being concerned in a riotous assemblage on the morning of the 12th, for the purpose of forcibly resisting the process of law. After the displacement of some of the lumber upon the ground, the party of Squatters were deterred from proceeding further. The Mayor having meantime requested all good citizens to aid in suppressing the threatened riot, very large numbers had gathered about the spot,—several citizens arrived, proceeded also to

the prison ship, but no demonstration was made in that direction.

“The Squatters retreated in martial order, and passed up I Street to Third, thence to J and up to Fourth, followed by a crowd of persons. They were here met by the Mayor, who ordered them to deliver up their arms and disperse. This they refused to do, and immediately several shots were fired at him, four of which took effect. He fell from his horse, and was carried to his residence, dangerously if not mortally wounded. Mr. J. W. Woodland, who, unarmed, stood near the Mayor at the time, received a shot in the groin, which he survived but a few moments. A man, named Jesse Morgan, said to be from Millersville, Ohio, lately arrived, and who was seen to aim at the Mayor, next fell dead, from the effects of a ball which passed through his neck. Mr. James Harper was very severely wounded in supporting the Sheriff. It is difficult to give an exact detail of the terrible incidents which followed in such rapid succession. It appeared, from an examination before the Coroner, that the party of Squatters drew up in regular order, on arriving at the corner of Fourth Street, and that the Sheriff was several times fired upon before he displayed any weapons. Testimony was also given as to the person who was seen to fire upon Mr. Woodland. The mounted leader of the Squatters, an Irishman by the name of Maloney, had his horse shot under him; he endeav-

ored to escape, was pursued a short distance up an alley and shot through the head, falling dead. Dr. Robinson, one of the armed party under his command, was wounded in the lower part of his body. Mr. Hale of the firm of Crowell, Hale & Co., was slightly wounded in the leg. A young boy, son of Mr. Rogers, was also wounded. We have heard of several others, but are not assured of the correctness of the reports. Upon the oath of several gentlemen, that they saw Mr. Robinson deliberately aim at the Mayor, he was arrested and placed in confinement. An Irishman, named Caulfield, accused of a similar act with regard to both the Mayor and Mr. Woodland, was arrested late in the afternoon.

"After these terrible scenes, which occupied less time than we have employed to describe them, had passed, a meeting of the Council was held, the proceedings of which appear in another column. The citizens gathered at the corner of Second and J streets, and other places throughout the city, and proceeded to organize in parties to prevent further outrage. A body of mounted men under the command of the Sheriff hearing the report that the Squatters were reinforcing at the Fort, proceeded thither. The lawless mob were nowhere to be found; scouts were dispatched in all directions, but no trace of them could be discovered; meanwhile several other parties had formed into rank, and proceeded to different parts of the city, establish-

ing rendezvous at various points. Brigadier-General Winn issued a proclamation, declaring the city under martial law, and ordering all law-abiding citizens to form themselves into volunteer companies, and report their organization at headquarters as soon as possible. At evening, quiet was fully restored throughout the city. Lieutenant Governor McDougal, who left upon the Senator, and expects to meet the Gold Hunter, will bring up this morning a detachment of troops from Benicia. An extraordinary police force of 500 was summoned for duty during the night."

By the minutes of the Council, we find that B. F. Washington was appointed Marshal, and Capt. J. Sherwood, Assistant, to whom all persons desirous of making arrests were requested to apply for authority and aid.

(From the Daily Times of August 16, 1850.)

"Another day of gloom arrives in the dread succession which we are compelled to record. Scarcely had the funeral rites been rendered to one victim, ere a second is immolated upon the sacred altar of duty. The Sheriff of this county, Joseph McKinney, was killed last evening. He had proceeded to Brighton in company with a party of about twenty, to make arrests of persons whom he had been advised were concerned in the riotous outrages of the 14th. On reaching the Pavilion, and being assured that the parties sought for were at the hotel of one Allen in the neighbor-

hood, it was arranged that Mr. McDowell, of Mormon Island, well known at the house, should proceed there, make observations and return. They did not wait for him, however, but soon after rode up to the door, when the Sheriff demanded of Allen that he and the others should surrender themselves. They refused to do this, and immediately several shots were fired, mortally wounding Mr. McKinney. He expired in a few moments. Meanwhile, several of those with him had entered the bar-room, where about a dozen Squatters were assembled. Three of the latter were killed on the spot. Allen escaped, though wounded. Three prisoners were taken and brought into town. We have heard that a fourth and a negro Squatter were also taken.

“At the time the first report of these proceedings reached the city, the Council was in session. Messrs. Tweed and Spalding were appointed to unite with Capt. Sherwood in taking measures to meet the emergency. Numbers of the citizens left immediately for the scene of disturbance. The greatest commotion pervaded the city, and the most contradictory and exaggerated rumors were circulated. It was feared that in the excitement, the protection of the city would be neglected. In the course of a few hours the facts became known, and quiet was restored. Messengers continued to arrive throughout the night. A strict patrol was kept in the vicinity of Brighton and of this

city. A man was arrested by Capt. Sherwood, being identified by two or three persons as implicated in the riot of the 14th. We are denied room for comment. But a few hours ago, we had the satisfaction to give a just tribute of appreciation to the gallant conduct of the officer whose sacrifice we now relate. Every member of our community feels in his own person the enormity of the crime which has been committed against all the social and political rights prized by our countrymen. A similar outrage is unprecedented in the history of the American people, and every interest of this community demands that the retribution should be summary and complete."

DISPATCH TO GEN. WINN.

The following is the dispatch sent to Gen. Winn by Governor Burnett, when he heard of the troubles at Sacramento:

"San Jose, August 15, 1850.

"To Brig. Gen. A. M. Winn, Second Brigade, First Division, California Militia:

"Sir,—It having been made to appear to me, that there is a riotous and unlawful assembly, with intent to commit a felony, at Sacramento City, in Sacramento county, you will forthwith order out the whole of your command, to appear at Sacramento City, on the 16th day of August, 1850, or as soon thereafter as

practicable; and you will take command of the same, and give all the aid in your power to the civil authorities, in suppressing violence and enforcing the laws. Should the force ordered out not be sufficient, you will forthwith inform me accordingly.

“Your obedient servant,

“Peter H. Burnett,

“Governor of California and Commander-in-Chief.”

On the morning of the 16th, two military companies arrived by the steamer Senator, from San Francisco, under command of Captains Howard and McCormick, accompanied by Col. J. W. Geary, Mayor, who placed themselves under command of Gen. Winn, who transmitted to the Common Council the following letter :

“Brigade Headquarters, August 17, 1850.

“To the Acting Mayor, and Common Council of Sacramento City :

“I have the honor to inform you that the Second Brigade, First Division, California Militia, is now in readiness to give aid to the civil authorities in suppressing violence and enforcing law.

“Any orders emanating from your Board shall be promptly attended to.

“With high respect, I subscribe myself your obedient servant,

“A. M. Winn, Brig. Gen.

“By E. J. C. Kewen,

“Asst. Adj. Gen., 2d Brig.,
1st Div., California Militia.”

The Council then made the following reply :

“Council Chamber,

“Sacramento City, August 17, 1850.

“Sir: Your communication of this date is received, notifying me of the readiness of the Second Brigade, First Division, California Militia, under your command, to aid the civil authorities in suppressing violence and enforcing law; and stating that any order emanating from this Board shall be promptly attended to. In reply, I would state, that immediately after the unexpected riot of the 14th instant, a police force of five hundred men was authorized to be raised, and B. F. Washington, Esq., appointed as marshal to take command, aided by Capt. J. Sherwood.

“Thus far, this force has proven itself capable of sustaining our laws and protecting the property of our citizens without resort to military aid, and from all the information which we now possess there is no great probability of such aid being needed.

“Should any emergency arise requiring it, rest assured we shall avail ourselves of your kind offer.

“By order of the Board.

“D. Strong,

“President of the Common Council and
Acting Mayor.”

STRONG'S PROCLAMATION.

"Fellow Citizens: Peace, order and quietness have re-assumed their sway. Scouts have returned, after scouring the neighborhood, and report the absence of any appearance of hostilities. A heavy guard is constantly maintained, and the city is safe from an attack. Reliable information has been received from the mines, assuring us of a falsity of the rumors of assemblages to resist the law. An observance of the ordinance against discharging firearms in the city is commanded. Especially it is necessary at this time, after nightfall. Officers on duty will attend to this. No further disturbance is apprehended, but our vigilance must not be relaxed.

"D. Strong,

"President of the Common Council and
Acting Mayor.

"August 19, 1850."

RESTORING OF QUIET.

(From the Transcript of August 19, 1850.)

"We are happy to see at last the dawning of a calmer state of things in our midst. Under the circumstances, the excitement of the past few days was perhaps unavoidable. It is a terrible step for men to take, to rise in armed opposition to the laws and constitution of

the State in which they reside. But when such a step is taken, it must be promptly met.

“Our citizens have aroused with determination, they have rushed in multitudes to the side of law and authority. The blow has been struck. The armed opposition has been crushed. The rioters are scattered, and the authority of our government is still maintained. In addition, two telling moral blows have been struck, whose effect will last long in our community. We allude to the funerals of Mr. Woodland and of Mr. McKinney. It almost seemed as if the entire city rose to perform over them the last duties which were left to be performed.

“At present all is quiet in our midst. And we trust that until there is need of further excitement, our fellow citizens will do what lies in their power to allay the turmoil which has jostled our city from its course of prosperity.

“The remote evils resulting from such an excitement as we have passed through, are much to be deplored, and should be avoided if it is within the range of possibility. The utter stagnation of all business, the cessation of works of public improvement, the stop placed upon private works of enterprise, the forgetfulness of the thousand and one subjects which should demand the immediate attention of the public, these all call upon us to allay the excitement no longer called for, and to resume our former condition of quiet.

"The death of Capt. Woodland was the result of an exposure that was prompted by one of the noblest impulses of the human heart. He was walking up the street and near the corner of J and Fourth in company with a friend of ours, when the Squatters ranged themselves diagonally across Fourth with their guns presented towards the approaching Mayor and his party. The moment he saw the menacing attitude of these men he exclaimed to this individual, 'Oh it's too bad for these men to take such a stand, for they will certainly be shot down and I will go up and advise them.' In an attempt to execute this intention he stepped forward but a couple of steps when he received a ball that killed him almost instantly."

Having myself been well acquainted with some parties who joined the Squatters and who were known to me to be honorable men—men of noble and neighborly traits of character, I have been shocked at their course in this affair.

From remote ages man has been, as he still is, inclined to suspect those who rank him in wealth and preferment. This, we think, was clearly evidenced in this era, by the actions of the squatter riots above discussed. Being envious of Sutter, who owned by honest acquisition a territory nearly as large as his fatherland, they sought to bridge the chasm between him and them by building the approaches out of his own property. They questioned his ownership and sought

by brute force to utilize his possessions against his will. Some of the Squatters were, undoubtedly, actuated by conscientious motives; being led astray by the overpowering influence of designing men. The moral obliquity of the leaders in this trouble, it occurs to me, is pronounced.

GENERAL SUTTER'S LOSSES.

I now have the painful task of outlining some of the losses that reduced this good man to beggary. In order to make myself understood I will repeat in this episode some things incidentally mentioned on another page in this work. Omitting many of the lesser wrongs Sutter sustained, I shall endeavor to notice with much brevity some of the greater calamities which shadowed the pathway of his declining years.

Some state or states in the Union had the good fortune to disgorge five freebooters, who landed in California and in the winter of '49-'50 formed a company and hibernated near Marysville on an island in the Sacramento River. Armed with rifles and equipped with a good boat, a butcher's outfit and some helpers, they carried on an extensive business in the slaughtering of animals and the selling of meats; their principal market was Sacramento City. In the spring they had a net dividend of \$60,000, and every animal slaughtered was stolen from General Sutter.

While this work was going on in this rogues' meat-market, the sheriff and his posse went to arrest the offenders; but as their rendezvous was on an island, and they were desperate men and all well armed, the officer, believing that to encounter them would be fatal to him and some of his men, and not being sanguine of success, very prudently withdrew from the field leaving the party to pursue their illicit business. The arrest of those thieves was several times undertaken, with similar results.

One hundred horses and two thousand dollars' worth of swine were stolen from Sutter during the same winter. The horses were driven to Oregon and the swine were slaughtered and sold in the markets; Sacramento receiving more than one half of the gross sales. Some of the poorest of the stolen horses were recovered. Sutter also lost heavily in sheep which were stolen from him the same winter.

This brings us to the controversy in the Sutter land cases the facts concerning which are very little known to the public generally, and which terminated in the financial ruin of the great pioneer.

Some time in July, 1839, Sutter and Juan B. Alvarado, the governor of the province of California, entered into an agreement the provisions of which were substantially as follows: Sutter was to settle with his colony upon any unoccupied land in northern California and after a year's occupancy report to Alvarado,

naturalize to the government of Mexico, and receive a land grant of eleven square leagues. Accordingly on the 12th day of August, 1839, he settled upon a tract of land which he named New Helvetia in honor of Switzerland. This was the way Mexico disposed of much of her public domain and was the price she asked for it. As small as this price appears it is all the land was worth. Land in unsettled districts only could be so obtained.

The soil was excellent and the climate desirable, but these grants at the time Sutter reached California must be obtained to lands remote from commercial points and in sections of the country that were infested by warlike, thieving and treacherous tribes of Indians. These lands were not measured by the acre, but by the square league, about ten of them being an average grant. Nor were the boundaries as well established as they are where land is more valuable and where more importance attaches to the ownership of the land.

But the discovery of gold at Coloma and the pouring in of an interminable stream of immigrants immediately changed the valuation of land in California from nominal to real and intrinsic.

In the petition to Alvarado for the grant of New Helvetia the tule lands (low and periodically overflowed lands which were valueless until reclaimed) were excluded from the eleven leagues petitioned for.

A survey, field notes and a map made by John J. Vioget, a competent surveyor, accompanied the petition and formed a part of it. The petition called for two square leagues lying south of the "Rio de los Americanos," the other parcel of nine leagues being divided by the Rio de las Plumas; and a tract of several miles lying between the two parcels.

In 1844, Micheltorena having been appointed governor of California, Sutter petitioned him for a grant of twenty-two square leagues. This grant was issued by Micheltorena and the title was confirmed by the government of Mexico.

In 1851 Congress created a board of commissioners, whose duty it was to inquire after the validity of land grants in New Mexico and California and to adjust disputed claims. This commission was clothed with authority to summon whomsoever it would and with full power to enforce attendance. To this august body claims were presented for adjudication. The land grants having been issued in the Spanish language a corps of interpreters formed a part of the board.

As it was well known at this time that the precious metals were mixed with the soil and that the great tide of immigration then streaming into California from all countries would enhance the value of these fertile lands, those who claimed them sought to quiet title where question had been raised. To this end Sutter, in 1852, presented his claims to this board of com-

missioners. After a deliberate investigation the board, as I have described it, found Sutter's grants to be perfect, without cloud or defect, and confirmed them under the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Mexico. The squatters then appealed to the United States District Court for the northern district of California, where the decision of the commissioners was confirmed. The counsel for the squatters then appealed both cases to the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington. In 1864 this court confirmed the eleven-league grant, but reversed the decision with reference to the twenty-two league grants.

The Supreme Court, in its decision, claimed that the difficulties in which the Sutter cases were involved, were increased by the presence of settlers on his grants. If the grant of twenty-two square leagues of land by the Mexican government, through its provincial governor, Micheltorena, was conveyed to Sutter in a manner satisfactory to Mexico and the conveyance was duly confirmed by her, by what process a squatter obtained color of title not conveyed by Sutter or founded in easement is not clear to an average mind, unless the dishonesty of courts is premised.

The United States Supreme Court questioned the authority of Micheltorena to issue the twenty-two league grant. It was issued after the insurgents of the Castro faction had driven the governor from the

capital, but while his authority was recognized by Mexico. It was put in evidence at the trial, that Mexico instructed him to issue the grant. It was held by the Supreme Court that the twenty-two league grant was defective because the government set up by the rebellious faction never recognized the grant and that it had not been confirmed by the departmental government. The departmental government set up by Castro and Pico was in rebellion against the Mexican government, and was not a recognized government until after this transaction. At the trial, the fact was also put in evidence that when Sutter asked for the twenty-two leagues, Governor Micheltorena sent his request on to Mexico, and that government, in reply, instructed him to issue the grant as solicited.

The printed evidence in Sutter's land cases will fill a thousand 16mo pages. The expense of this suit, including witness fees, mileage, and fees for eminent counsel, was about \$200,000. Sutter had paid \$31,000 tax on the land of which he was despoiled. Having conveyed more land than he owned, it cost him \$100,000 to make his covenants good.

Being despoiled of his estates once so princely, and his flocks once so extensive, and becoming financially involved in his land suits, his credit became impaired and his troubles and embarrassments increased until he finally, as the sad act of his life, mortgaged away his Hock farm.

The bold explorer, the brave and humane general and the generous pioneer was stripped of his possessions in his old age, with nowhere to lay his head.

The United States government, with all its commendable doings, and they are many, has been exceeding dilatory in adjusting private claims.

When Louisiana was purchased by the United States portions of her land had been granted to private individuals in a manner very similar to the granting of these lands under consideration; and commissioners were appointed to inquire into said grant. Some of those claims, to the disgrace of our government, were in litigation more than forty years, and until the honest claimant had slumbered for years in the grave. The California claimants anticipated similar results from an effort of investigation. They felt that they were a conquered people, and must go before a board created by their conquerors, who, in a tongue unknown to them, would investigate at convenience and report at leisure.

These conclusions were not the work of imagination. The light of the past shines over the present. Some of these land cases in California ran through ten or twelve years at an expense of \$150,000 and upwards, and taking from the owner in the end the accumulations of a lifetime.

THE CITY OF SACRAMENTO.

When Sacramento City was first laid out its site was owned by Sutter, and the first merchandising, except the traffic in blankets, beads and brown-cloth, etc., by Sutter, was carried on under the firm name of Brannan, Smith & Co. The store was an adobe building standing near the fort. Brannan finally bought his partners out and carried on the business alone. The city was an assemblage of tents. As early as '48, it was again laid out by a competent civil engineer. Gen. W. T. Sherman being present assisted in reorganizing it. The lots were made shapely and the streets neat and methodical, although a little at variance with the cardinal points of the compass.

About the time Sutter conveyed the city property to his son, an effort was made to build the city near the Sacramento River three miles below the embarcadero. This place was called Sutterville. Later, some "Romulus" undertook to build a city on the left bank of the Rio de los Americanos about four miles above Sacramento. He pushed his enterprise to the extent of cutting some brush, driving a stake and writing Hoboken on it. At a point where the Sacramento River and the American at that time joined currents, a beautiful city was built, in imagination, with tidy

streets, fragrant parks, sparkling fountains, wonderful palaces and grand boulevards. This city with all its beauties was defective. It never possessed the power to materialize on earth. Suttersville and Hoboken soon retired from the field of competition, leaving Sacramento City alone in its glory.

SALE OF CONCERT TICKETS.

From some of the literature of Sacramento current in February, 1853, the following is obtained:

"San Francisco outdone. Sacramento jubilant.

"Last evening a large audience assembled at the Orleans in Sacramento City for the twofold purpose of attending the Plank Road Meeting and the Auction Sale of tickets to Miss Kate Hayes' first concert. The bidding was started at \$100 and seconded instantly by a cry of \$150, which brought a response from the first bidder of \$50 more and between the two it was carried to \$450, when a prominent citizen stepped into the ring, with a bid of \$500.

"Now be it known it was the intention of the different parties to bid \$1000; though it was kept a profound secret from the crowd.

"The fever had gotten hold of the audience, and to outdo San Francisco,—to show there was still some 'Small change' left in our midst,—and that Miss

Hayes should not have occasion to regret her coming for want of public spirit, was the prevailing feeling. All eyes were turned to a certain corner where, after brisk bidding, \$1,150 was proclaimed in a loud voice; then a voice said \$1,175, and ere a second elapsed every one heard a full, clear voice sound \$1,200, and it was almost immediately knocked down and the name called for. Another long-drawn breath, and the welcome cheering sound of 'The Sutter Rifles,' was heard. Every one knew the old Pioneer, Capt. John A. Sutter, would be the honored recipient of this distinguished compliment, and cheer on cheer was given for many minutes for the good taste and liberal spirit shown by this well-known corps. The next ticket sold for \$50, and then the premium went down to one dollar.

"The concert takes place this evening and an escort was sent early to bring the gallant old Captain on the afternoon Marysville boat, to occupy the seat of honor of the house, consisting of a sofa in front of the pews. A brilliant assemblage of ladies will welcome the cantatrice on her first appearance and bestow the commendation she may, by her singing, merit at their hands."

ELLEN BUZZELL.

Several years ago, at a meeting of the San Joaquin Society of California Pioneers, Mrs. Grattan volunteered to procure a photograph of her sister "Nell" (Ellen) who was born to Mr. and Mrs. Buzzell at Sutter's Fort on the second day of August, 1845, and claimed to be the first Caucasian child born to American parents in Sacramento Valley.

ANDREWS TO SUTTER.

"Sacramento, Aug. 20, 1853.

To Major-General John A. Sutter,—

Dear Sir: In consideration of your early services to the State of California, I have deemed it not inappropriate to prepare this sword as a present to you. A tribute so trifling in itself can be regarded only as an expression of the esteem which in common with my fellow-citizens, I entertain for your personal kindness and self-sacrifice for the good of the State. You are honored and esteemed by not only those who have known you, but wherever your reputation has extended; and I would have you accept this sword in proof of the fact that virtue in the distinguished citizen is not always unappreciated, and that private

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worth can have no better need than in the affections of a grateful people.

Very respectfully your obedient servant.

“A. Andrews,

“Late Captain commanding Company A,
Second Ohio Regiment.”

GENERAL SUTTER'S REPLY.

“Dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your highly esteemed favor of this date, accompanied by a sword.

“I claim no credit whatever for any services I may have rendered in the early days of California. As one of its pioneers, I could not do less than use my best exertion to promote its prosperity and contribute to the comfort and enjoyment of those who followed me to its lovely valleys. To do so was a pleasure, and that alone prompted me in everything that I did. If in promoting my own pleasure, I have been so fortunate as to secure the esteem of my fellow-citizens, I am doubly paid.

“For the expression of your personal consideration, and the sword which you present as a token of that consideration, you will please accept my thanks, and you may rest assured that I shall ever cherish a lively remembrance of your kindness. With, dear sir, the as-

surance of my personal esteem, I am most respectfully,
your obedient servant,

“J. A. Sutter.”

FIRST GRAND BALL IN SACRAMENTO.

For a pleasing account of the first grand ball given in Sacramento, we are indebted to Dr. Morse, who, as his style is inimitable, I will quote vebatim.

“About the 4th of July (1849), a grand ball was given at the City Hotel, which building was not yet completed. An immense and vigorous effort was made to get up a ball on a magnificent scale. To do this it was essentially important that every Caucasian descendant of Eve in this section of the State should be present. Accordingly a respectable number of gallant young gentlemen were commissioned to explore the country, with specific instructions to visit every ranch, tent or wagon bed where there was any indication of feminine divinity and irrespective of age, cultivation or grace, to bring one and all to this aristocratic festal occasion. These orders were admirably attended to, and at the opening of the dance the hungry, rather voracious optics of about 200 plain-looking gentlemen were greeted with the absolute presence of some eighteen ladies, not amazons all, but replete with all the adornments that belong to bold and

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enterprising pioneers of a new country. Such a sight in California, at that time, was almost a miraculous exhibition and filled men with such an ebullition of sentiment as to make it impossible to breathe without inhaling the dying cadences of the most devoted and tenderly expressed politeness. Tickets of admission to this ball were \$35. The supper was most sumptuously prepared, and champagne circulated so freely that identity became jeopardized, and the very illumination of the room converted into a grand magnifying medium for the revels of fancy and delights."

THE "HOUNDS" OF 1849.

This society was the union of unhung scoundrels, self-licensed robbers, plunderers and thieves; not one of whom would have been admitted into the organization of thieves famous in the entertainment of the Arabian Nights. Their operations were chiefly confined to San Francisco and their place of business was called Tammany Hall. They claimed to be banded in the interest of self-protection. They finally dropped their original name "Hounds" and chose the more pleasing and euphonious title "Regulators." They became so formidable as to encourage great boldness in the execution of schemes not planned in justice or equity nor sanctioned by men of honor or respectability. They pursued their outrages during witches' holiday

(dead of night), entering shops, stores and business places generally and demanding and taking whatever they wanted. He who had the hardihood to oppose them was knocked down with a bludgeon, sandbag or such missile as the villain possessed. Many of these being convicts from various state prisons and having little to live for, and therefore little fear of death, they became assailants that respectable men had no desire to encounter. Especially did their outrages fall upon foreigners whose tents they entered, plundering, ravishing and killing outright. The police force, such as it was, was illy organized.

In the rush for gold and the general greed for gain, government received but little attention. In short, it was severely let alone. Each and every man resolved himself into a committee of one to attend to his own affairs and to look after and report to, himself only.

The lawless conduct of the Regulators reached its crisis on Sunday the 15th day of July, 1850. The following day a mass meeting was called, judges appointed, juries impaneled and some of the rioters were tried and sentenced to imprisonment. Some of the most desperate characters in San Francisco at this time were from Van Dieman's Land and New South Wales, to which countries they had been sent from the social cesspools of England and were an accumulation of filth, rascality and baseness. America, herself, was not barren of similar elements. The scoundrels from

other countries managed to work their way here, some as stowaways and some before the mast. It is hardly necessary to conjecture by what means they all reached San Francisco. They got there, and (policemen not a few) early began, secretly, to aid in carrying on their diabolical work. Straw bail was at par. More than one hundred murders had been committed in the city and not one of the perpetrators had been brought to justice. Emboldened by their success they paraded the streets in military order, with arms as diversified as the scoundrels were that bore them.

THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE.

In June, 1851, a vigilance committee was formed with the following constitution; "Whereas, it has become apparent to the citizens of San Francisco, that there is no security for life and property, either under the regulations of society as it at present exists, or under the laws as administered; Therefore, the citizens, whose names are hereunto attached, do unite themselves into an association for the maintenance of the peace and good order of society, and the preservation of the lives and property of the citizens of San Francisco; and do bind ourselves, each unto the others, to do and perform every lawful act for the maintenance of law and order, and to sustain the laws, when faith-

fully and properly administered; but we are determined that no thief, burglar, incendiary or assassin shall escape punishment; either by quibbles of the laws, the insecurity of prisons, the carelessness or corruptness of the police, or a laxity of those who pretend to administer justice. And to secure the objects of this association we do hereby agree, 1st, that the name and style of the association shall be the Committee of Vigilance, for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens and residents of the City of San Francisco." Other rules and regulations too long to be given here were made. This committee had about seven hundred and fifty members and Sam Brannan, the Mormon, was their president. On the evening of the 10th of June, John Jenkins, a man of notoriously bad character, was arrested, tried and hung by the committee. On the 11th of July, James Stuart was arrested, regularly tried and after making a startling confession of crimes, was hung.

The following is quoted from the report of the grand jury impaneled in 1851 for the special July term by the Court of Sessions: "When we recall the delays, the insufficient, and, we believe that with truth it may be said, the corrupt administration of justice, the incapacity and indifference of those who are its sworn guardians and ministers, the frequent disregard of duty and impatience while attending to the performance of duty manifested by some of our judges, the many

notorious villains who have gone unpunished, lead us as stowaways and some before the mast. It is hardly governed by a feeling of opposition to the manner in which the law has been administered rather than a disregard to the law itself, * * * * *

To the members of the Vigilance Committee we are indebted for much valuable information and many important witnesses."

On the 24th day of the following August Samuel Whittaker and Robert McKenzie, after having a fair trial and having confessed their guilt, were hung side by side in public view, by the committee. When the city authorities offered \$25,000 for the apprehension of an incendiary the committee offered double the amount. The outlaws, of whom some were policemen and some judges, becoming satisfied that the Vigilantes had organized for a purpose and believing it would enhance their interests to observe a little better decorum, began to dispense with their midnight robberies and a tone of security began to declare itself. The Vigilantes, deeming further demonstration unnecessary, ceased to convene.

In 1855 a new Vigilance Committee was formed similar in its purposes, but greatly surpassing in numbers that of which I have just given some account. The principal committee was located in the city of San Francisco, being organized for the avowed purpose of correcting the evils in society and for the security of

life and property in that city. Other cities followed the example set by San Francisco and formed associations for the protection of individual rights. Hangtown, Sacramento and Marysville each had an organization and a vigilance committee. While these several committees were formed especially to reform the abuses of the city in which the organizations were located, each committee regarded itself as auxiliary to the great force at San Francisco, to which place they were ready to repair when solicited to do so. San Francisco alone had eight thousand members. They put up such a formidable front, that the sheriff of San Francisco with all the aid he could command was unable to control them. Even the governor was not equal to the task. The Vigilantes of San Francisco comprised some of the ablest and most respectable men in the city—men of standing—men of property—men who had interests to protect. No man could become a member of this committee who did not pass a satisfactory examination before a board duly created to examine candidates.

On the evening of November 17th, 1855, General William H. Richardson was assassinated in the streets of San Francisco by one Charles Cora, an Italian by birth but for some time a resident of California. From the reports in the *Alta*, for many years the leading and ablest edited paper of San Francisco, and other San Francisco papers and from public demonstration, Rich-

ardson appears to have been a gentleman of parts and of many virtues. At all events a feeling of deep indignation prevailed throughout the city. He was born in Washington, D. C., and was about 33 years old. Cora's reputation appears to have been less enviable. He was arrested and lodged in jail. In due time the case went to trial; with Alexander Campbell as judge, Col. Inge and Mr. Byrne counsel for the State and Gen. McDougal and Col. Baker* for the defense. The jury disagreeing, Cora was re-committed to jail on the 17th day of January.

On the 14th day of May, 1856, James P. Casey, editor of the Sunday Times, shot and killed James King, editor of the Evening Bulletin. Casey was a graduate of a renowned institution for criminals located at Sing-Sing, New York. When arrested for killing King he refused to give up his arms and showed fight. On the approach of several officers he said he would go but they must not take his arms, he was not going to be hung. He was hurried to the station house followed by an excited populace. The heavy doors being quickly locked behind him, the officers were able to repulse his pursuers. People continued to gather about the

* Colonel E. D. Baker, the orator, jurist and statesman, was born in London, England, 24 Feb., 1811; killed at the battle of Ball's Bluff, 21 Oct., 1861. He came to the United States at the age of five. He went to Springfield, Ill., with his brother, where he studied and commenced the practice of law. Having a genius for oratory he rapidly gained distinction and popularity. As a Whig he was elected a member of the legislature in 1837, of the State Senate in 1840, and representative in Congress in 1844. He raised a regiment in Illinois for the Mexican war. He was, perhaps, the greatest orator California had up to, or in his time. He has been censured by some for defending Cora.

station, expressing their indignation by cries of "Hang him, Hang him! Take him out! He will get clear if the officers keep him."

The excitement was contagious, spreading like an epidemic on wings of air; it was caught by citizens of Marysville, Hangtown (Placerville), Folsom and Sacramento. The list of enrolled members in San Francisco increased rapidly. Many of the Vigilantes of the cities referred to went to San Francisco to witness the scenes and to aid in enforcing justice.

The Sheriff of San Francisco, with all the force at his command was powerless in an attempt to execute his functions. He, however, was treated with civility. Having applied to Mrs. Hutchins, who kept a lodging-house near the jail, for lodging for some of the officers and soldiers who were watching the jail, he was promptly informed by the lady that "None of her premises could be used for that purpose." Mayor Van Ness applied to the commander of a revenue cutter in the harbor to receive Casey on board for greater protection. This the commander refused to do, saying he wanted no man of his character thrust upon him. One hundred men, more or less, procured a cannon from each of the two steamers, *Sea Bird* and *Goliath*, lying at the Pacific wharf. These cannon were to be used if necessary in defending the jail. But the military failed to respond when called to aid the Sheriff in its defense.

At a mass meeting held at Marysville the following resolutions were passed:

“Resolved, That we recognized in James King, as editor of the Bulletin, the sincere and earnest friend of the poor; the bold and fearless exposé of vice, crime and corruption; the independent and uncompromising opponent of official villains and swindlers, and the best and most faithful exponent our State has afforded of that correct sentiment which everywhere prevails among the masses of the people.

“Resolved, That the late attempted assassination of Mr. King, a useful, respectable and peaceful citizen of San Francisco, by James P. Casey, who is a graduated convict of (Sing-Sing) the New York State Prison and a notorious ruffian and fraud, is an offense against the peace, the order, and the good of the State; so heinous an offense as to demand an expression of condemnation from every good citizen in the land.—Marysville Herald, by Smith. (Mr. King died on the 20th of May and Casey and Cora were hung on the 22d.)

On the 18th of May twenty-six hundred armed men marched in military order in front of the jail, and placing the two cannon in position to command the door of the jail proceeded to load them with powder and ball. Mr. M. F. Truett rapped on the jail door and the Sheriff, David Scannel, came out. Truett, on behalf of the committee, asked him to handcuff Casey

and deliver him at the door. After some parleying Mr. North handcuffed the prisoner and delivered him to the committee, who conducted him to a coach in waiting and, at his request, Mr. North took a seat by his side. The committee requested the person of Charles Cora to be given into their hands. This the Sheriff refused to do. After the lapse of an hour, which was granted the Sheriff in which to consider the matter, Cora also was delivered to the committee, who conveyed the prisoners to their rooms where they were guarded by several hundred men.

Consonant to the request of Cora's spiritual adviser, Belle Cora, by appellation, appeared on the scene. This woman was Cora's paramour. The Holy Father refused to give Cora absolution except he marry the woman with whom he had cohabited. This done and the hemp he was about to stretch would land him in Paradise. Fearing it might leave a damaging stain upon her character to marry Cora, she at first refused. But believing the nuptial ceremony to be Cora's passport into realms of felicity, she consented.

It was not the purpose of this committee to hang a criminal except the penalty attached to his crime by the laws of the land was capital. They assumed the right, however, to imprison and to expel from the country any one who might be convicted of crimes less than murder. The first resolution passed by the committee after executing the two "C's" is copied from a quotation by Smith:

"Resolved, That we forbid the discussion of any political, sectional, sectarian or any partisan character whatever, in or about the rooms.

"We allow persons of all nations and tongues of good moral character to become members. These are the fundamental principles of the body and will be adhered to.

"All creeds, religions and political opinions must be thrown aside. We enter the great battle of virtue against vice, of right against wrong, of liberty against oppression; and we are determined at all hazards to crush out the monster vice of election frauds as the greatest cause of all our troubles."

At the time Cora and Casey were hung, there were others held in confinement by the committee, among whom was Yankee Sullivan, the noted pugilist, who once defeated John Morrissey, who afterwards became congressman from New York. Sullivan suicided in jail by cutting the large artery in his arm with a case-knife which he had managed to conceal. The committee had never intended to hang him and so assured him, but had determined to deport him. He had made many startling and incriminating revelations in his confession with reference to his associates in crime, naming the persons who had bribed him in handling the ballot boxes and other frauds. This confession the papers printed in full; and for this he was afraid they would kill him if he were turned loose. A fright-

ful dream he had the night before may have influenced his actions.

On June 22, 1856, Gov. J. Neely Johnson sent a communication to Major-General W. T. Sherman, commanding him to call upon such members of the enrolled militia, or those subject to military duty, as he deemed necessary, also upon the volunteer independent companies of the military division under his command, to report, organize, and act with him in enforcing the law. The Governor declared San Francisco to be in a state of insurrection, and ordered all the militia to report to General Sherman. This call for recruits was illy responded to, and they came in very slowly. A day or two after the Governor's proclamation, the evidence in the case of some of the notorious characters confined in the committee rooms having been heard, six were deported on the Hercules.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE TO THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA.

June 9th, 1856.

The Committee of Vigilance placed in the position they now occupy by the voice and countenance of the vast majority of their fellow-citizens, as executors of their will, desire to define the necessity which has forced their present organization.

Great public emergencies demand prompt and vigorous remedies.

The people, long suffering under an organized despotism, which has invaded their liberties, squandered their property, usurped their offices of trust and emolument, prevented the expression of their will through the ballot box, and have corrupted the channels of justice, have not arisen in virtue of their inherent right and power. All political, religious and sectional differences and issues have given way to the paramount necessity of a thorough and fundamental reform and purification of the social and political body.

The voice of the whole people have demanded union and organization, as the only way of making our laws effective, and regaining the right of free speech, free vote, and public safety. For years they have patiently waited and striven in a peaceful manner, and in ac-

cordance with the forms of law, to reform the abuses which have made our city a by-word. Fraud and violence have foiled every effort; and the laws to which the people looked for protection, were distorted and rendered effete in practice, so as to shield the vile; they have been used as a powerful engine to fasten upon us tyranny and misrule.

We looked to the ballot box as our safe-guard and sure remedy. But so effectually, and so long was its voice smothered, the votes deposited in it by freemen so entirely outnumbered by ballots thrust in by fraud at midnight, or multiplied by false counts of judges and inspectors of election, that many doubted whether the majority of the people were not utterly corrupt.

Organized gangs of bad men, of all political parties, or who assumed any particular creed from mercenary and corrupt motives, have parceled out our offices among themselves, or sold them to the highest bidders; have provided themselves with convenient tools to obey their nod, as clerks, inspectors, and judges of election; have employed bullies and professional fighters to destroy tally lists by force, and to prevent peaceable citizens from ascertaining, in a lawful manner, the true number of votes polled at our elections; and have used cunningly contrived ballot boxes, with false sides and bottoms, so prepared that by means of a spring or slide, spurious tickets (placed there previous to the election) could be mingled with genuine votes!

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Of all this, we have the most irrefragable proofs. Felons from other lands and states, and unconvicted criminals, equally as bad, have thus controlled public funds and property, and have often amassed sudden fortunes, without having done an honest day's work with head or hands. Thus the fair inheritance of our city has been embezzled and squandered; our streets and wharves are in ruins; and the miserable entailment of an enormous debt will bequeath sorrow and poverty to another generation.

The jury box has been tampered with, and our jury trials have been made to shield the hundreds of murderers, whose red hands have cemented this tyranny, and silenced with the bowie-knife and the pistol, not only the free voice of an indignant press, but the shuddering rebuke of the outraged citizen. To our shame, be it said, that the inhabitants of distant lands already know that corrupt men in office, as well as gamblers, shoulder strikers, and other vile tools of unscrupulous leaders, beat, maim, and shoot down with impunity, good, peaceable, and unoffending citizens. Such as those earnest reformers, who, at the known hazard of their lives, and with singleness of heart, have sought, in a lawful manner, to thwart schemes of public plunder, or to awaken investigation.

Embodied in the principles of republican government are the truths that the majority should rule; and when corrupt officials, who have fraudulently seized

the reins of authority, designedly thwart the execution of the laws of punishment upon the notoriously guilty, then the power they usurped reverts back to the people from whom it was wrested. Realizing these truths, and confident that they were carrying out the will of the vast majority of the citizens of this country, the Committee of Vigilance, under a solemn sense of responsibility that rested upon them, have calmly and dispassionately weighed the evidences before them, and decreed the death of some, who, by their crimes and villainies, had stained our fair land.

With those that were banished, this comparatively moderate punishment was chosen, not because ignominious death was not deserved, but that the error, if any, might surely be on the side of mercy to the criminal. There are others scarcely less guilty, against whom the same punishment has been decreed, but they have been allowed further time to arrange for their final departure, and with the hope that permission to depart voluntarily, might induce repentance and repentance amendment, they have been suffered to choose within limits their own time and method of going. Thus far, and throughout their arduous duties they have been and will be guided by the most conscientious convictions of imperative duty, and they earnestly hope that in endeavoring to mete out merciful justice to the guilty their counsels may be so guided, by that power before whose tribunal we all shall stand, that in the

vicissitudes of after life, amid the calm reflection of old age, and in clear view of dying conscience, there may be found nothing we would regret or wish to change. We have no friends to reward, no enemies to punish, no private ends to accomplish.

Our single, heartfelt aim is the public good; the purging from our community of those abandoned characters whose actions have been evil continually, and have finally forced upon us the efforts we are now making. We have no favoritism as a body, nor shall there be evinced, in any of our acts, either partiality for, or prejudice against any race, sect or party. While thus far we have not discovered on the part of our constituents any indication of lack of confidence, and have no reason to doubt that the great majority of the inhabitants of the county indorse our acts, and desire us to continue the work of weeding out the irreclaimable characters from the community; we have, with deep regret, seen that some of the State authorities have felt it their duty to organize a force to resist us. It is not impossible for us to realize that not only those gentlemen who, accepting offices to which they were honestly elected, have sworn to support the laws of the State of California, find it difficult to reconcile their supposed duties with acquiescence in the acts of the Committee of Vigilance, when they reflect that more than three-fourths of the people of the entire State sympathize with, and endorse our efforts; and as all

law emanates from the people, so, also, when the laws thus enacted are not executed, the power returns to the people and is theirs whenever they may choose to make their present movement a complete revolution, recalling all the power they had delegated, and re-issuing it to new agents under new forms. Now, because the people have not seen fit to resume all the powers they have confided to executive or state officers, it certainly does not follow they cannot, in the exercise of their inherent, sovereign power, withdraw from corrupt and unfaithful servants the authority they have used to thwart the ends of justice.

Those officials whose mistaken sense of duty leads them to array themselves against the determined action of the people, whose servants they have become, may be respected, while their errors may be regretted; but none can envy the future reflections of that man who, whether in the heat of malignant passion or with the vain hope of preserving by violence a position obtained through fraud and bribery, seeks, under the color of law, to enlist the outcasts of society, as a hireling soldiery in the service of the State; or urges criminals, by hopes of plunder, to continue at the cost of civil war, the reign of ballot-box stuffers and tamperers with the jury box.

The Committee of Vigilance believe that the people have entrusted to them the duty of gathering evidence, and after due trial, expelling from the community

those ruffians and assassins who have so long outraged the peace and good order of society; violated the ballot box, overridden law, and thwarted justice. Beyond the duties incident to this, we do not desire to interfere with the details of government. We have spared and shall spare no effort to avoid bloodshed or civil war; but undeterred by threats of opposing organization, shall continue, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must, this work of reform, to which we have pledged our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. Our labors have been arduous, our deliberations have been cautious, our determinations firm, our counsels prudent, our motives pure; and while regretting the imperious necessity which called us into action, we are anxious that this necessity should exist no longer; and when our labors shall have been accomplished, when the community shall be freed from the evils it has so long endured, when we have insured to our citizens an honest and vigorous protection of their rights; then the Committee of Vigilance will find great pleasure in resigning their power into the hands of the people, from whom it was received.

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THE NATIONAL GUARD.

At a meeting of the National Guard on the 10th of June the following preamble and resolutions were adopted :

“Whereas, Recent events, well known to all, having placed this corps in a wrong position before the public, therefore, it is hereby

“Resolved, That in consequence of our arms having been taken from us by the Adjutant-General of the State, this corps do now disband ; preferring this course to that of becoming the slaughterers of our fellow-citizens.

“Resolved, That this corps do now reorganize under the name of the Independent National Guard. Holding ourselves subject only to such rules and regulations, in sustaining the cardinal interests of the community, as our best judgment may dictate, we hereby repudiate all connection with the present State authorities.”

Wm. H. Jones, Secretary.

On the same day Hampton North, City Marshal of the City of San Francisco, and the Common Council, handed to Mayor Van Ness the following communication :

“Gentlemen—I beg herewith to tender to you and through you, to my constituents, my resignation of the

office of City Marshal of the City of San Francisco to which I was duly elected on the 28th day of May, 1855.

"Hoping that this act may tend to restore harmony in the present distracted affairs of this community,

"I remain respectfully,

"Hampton North."

On the 7th day of June, General Sherman resigned his commission of Major-General, and, it is said, gave as his reason for doing so, that in counseling moderation with the Governor they could not agree on the course to be pursued. On the 22nd day of June, several members of the Vigilance Committee, in arresting Rube Maloney for some misdemeanor, encountered D. S. Terry, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, who it appears was defending Maloney. Stirling A. Hopkins, one of the committee, was especially antagonized by Terry, who, it was shown, was seen to draw a knife and stab him (Hopkins) in the neck. It was stated also that Terry, before the stabbing, was seen to stagger as if from being struck with a revolver which it was sought to show had been in the hand of Hopkins. Excitement followed. Hopkins ran down the street and exclaimed, "I am shot." He was taken to a room where he received proper care. Judge Terry and Maloney fled to the Armory and some of the "law and order" men (a term of derision) rushed in to protect them. The building was soon surrounded by Vig-

ilant boys who sought to prevent the escape of Terry and Maloney.

Members of the committee who were engaged, each in his respective business, at the first sound of the great alarm bell dropped their implements of toil and hurried to the council rooms. Draymen with half-loaded wagons stripped the harness from their horses, mounted them and took their position in the battalion. The business was so systematized that within fifteen minutes from the first sound of the alarm, five hundred armed men whose heart and soul were in the work could be convened. The prisoners, Terry and Maloney, were lodged in the committee rooms.

On the evening of July 24, 1856, Joseph Hetherington shot and killed Dr. Randall. In 1853 he had killed Dr. Baldwin, but was acquitted by a jury and before a judge upon whom comment were redundant. He was arrested for killing Randall by city officials, but they turned him over to the Vigilantes. He and one Philander Brace, the murderer of Captain West in 1854, and who, it was believed, killed Marion two or three days afterward, were executed by the committee, on the 29th day of July. Hetherington was born in Cumberland County, England, but came to the United States when a boy and lived until 1850, a part of the time in New Orleans and a part in St. Louis. He was 35 years old and possessed a respectable fortune.

Brace was about 21 years of age, good looking and

well dressed. Few men possessed more vice and wickedness than he. While in his cell he was visited by several clergymen, all of whom he treated with contempt; cursing, swearing and using vulgar expressions and obscene language in their presence and even threatening to kick them out of his cell. He was born in Canandaigua County, New York, and was a young man of fine abilities both native and acquired.

Both of these prisoners displayed remarkable coolness on the scaffold; assisting the officers in adjusting the rope about their necks. They removed their neckties and unbuttoned their collars without help. The criminals shook hands with each other and exchanged a few words. Omitting some of Hetherington's remarks I will copy from Smith's account:

"The Rev. Bishop Kipp has been with me all day—not all day, but nearly all." Brace here interrupted him, "Go on, go on with what you have to say." (The executioner checked Brace, who replied to him, "Away, you ———")

Hetherington—"I am not any more penitent to-day than I have been any day of my life."

Brace—"Go on, old hoss."

Hetherington—"In a conversation which I had with Mr. O'Brien, two weeks ago, our conversation turned upon religion, and I assured him that there never was a day in my life——"

Brace—"Hurry up and not stop so long. D'ye think

I want to stand here and be stared at by these ignoramuses? I wish to meet my doom immediately."

Hetherington—"They tell me to stop." (Several voices, "Go on, go on, Hetherington.")

Hetherington—"I have not disobeyed any of the rules of that house, (pointing to the committee rooms). I should be very sorry to do it; if you will say go, I will go on."

Brace—"Go on, and brave it out; don't talk about Dr. Kipp. They don't want to know anything about him."

Hetherington—"About my conversation with Dr. O'Brien, it turned upon religion——"

Brace (interrupting)—"Ah! oh, I'm drunk; so I'm all right."

Hetherington—"I told the Doctor I was prepared to meet my God at any moment; and furthermore, that I never lived one day in my life that I was not prepared to meet my God at night. Dr. P. O'Brien will make affidavit to that, I think, if called upon."

Brace—"You have your vengeance, gentlemen, to your heart's content; I don't care a —— I want you to understand that fully, clearly and distinctly, gents."

Hetherington—"The gentlemen have given orders to go ahead. I will change my note; and will merely say, as orders have been given to stop, that in the first difficulty I had with Dr. Baldwin, I had to shoot him in defense of my own life."

Brace—"I shall die murdered by the Vigilance Committee, July 29th, 1856. I wish that clearly and distinctly understood on the house-top, there."

Hetherington—"I was acquitted of that, but still it hangs upon me. I must stop; but I will first add, that so far as killing Dr. Randall is concerned, I merely asked for a conversation with Mr. Calde when he turned around and drew his pistol. I had to kill him to save my own life. I have lived a gentleman all my life, and I will die a gentleman, though on the gallows. I defy any man in the whole world to prove that I have done one dishonorable act in my life. I have been abused by the public press of this city, where I have resided for five or six years, for some cause unknown to me. I am in a few minutes to be launched into eternity. You may please yourselves, notwithstanding I have no bad feelings towards any person living. I forgive every man freely, as I expect my Redeemer to forgive me. Lord have mercy on my soul!"

Brace—"—— ——— it, dry up! What's the use talking to them?"

Hetherington—"I was going to make a remark that very few people——"

Brace—"Go it, old hoss!" Etc. Etc.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Whereas, It has become apparent to the citizens of San Francisco that there is no security for life and property, either under the regulations of society, as it at present exists, or under the laws as now administered, and that by the association together of bad characters, our ballot boxes have been stolen and others substituted, or stuffed with votes that were not polled, and thereby our elections nullified, our dearest rights violated, and no other method left by which the will of the people can be manifested; therefore, the citizens whose names are hereunto attached, do unite themselves into an association for maintenance of peace and good order of society—the preservation of our lives and property, and to insure that our ballot boxes shall hereafter express the actual and unforged will of the majority of our citizens; and we do bind ourselves, each unto the other, by a solemn oath, to do and perform every just and lawful act for the maintenance of law and order, and to sustain the laws when faithfully and properly administered; but we are determined that no thief, burglar, incendiary, assassin, ballot-box stuffer, or other disturbers of the peace, shall escape punishment, either by the quibbles of the law, the in-

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security of prisons, the carelessness or corruption of police, or a laxity of those who pretend to administer justice; and to secure the objects of this association, we do hereby agree:

1st. That the name and style of this association shall be the Committee of Vigilance, for the protection of the ballot box, the lives, liberty and property of the citizens and residents of the City of San Francisco.

2d. That there shall be rooms for the deliberations of the Committee, at which there shall be some one or more members of the Committee, appointed for that purpose, in constant attendance at all hours of the day and night, to receive the report of any member of the association, or of any other person or persons, of any act of violence done to the person or property of any citizen of San Francisco; and if, in the judgment of the member or members of the Committee, either in aiding in the execution of the laws, or the prompt and summary punishment of the offender, the Committee shall be at once assembled for the purpose of taking such action as the majority of them, when assembled, shall determine upon.

3d. That it shall be the duty of any member or members of the Committee on duty at the committee rooms, whenever a general assemblage of the Committee be deemed necessary, to cause a call to be made, in such a manner as shall be found advisable.

4th. That whereas, an Executive Committee has been chosen by the General Committee, it shall be the duty of said Executive Committee to deliberate and act upon all important questions, and decide upon the measures necessary to carry out the objects for which the association was formed.

5th. That whereas, this Committee has been organized into subdivisions, the Executive Committee shall have the power to call, when they shall so determine, upon a board of delegates, to consist of three representatives from each division, to confer with them upon matters of vital importance.

6th. That all matters of detail and government shall be embraced in a code of by-laws.

7th. That the action of this body shall be entirely and vigorously free from all consideration of, or participation in the merits or demerits, or opinions or acts, of any and all sects, political parties, or sectional division in the community; and every class of orderly citizens, of whatever sect, party, or nativity, may become members of this body. No discussion of political, sectional, or sectarian subjects shall be allowed in the rooms of the association.

9th. That whenever the General Committee have assembled for deliberation, the decision of the majority, upon any question that may be submitted to them by the Executive Committee, shall be binding upon the whole; provided nevertheless, that when the delegates

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are deliberating upon the punishment to be awarded to any criminal, no vote inflicting the death penalty shall be binding, unless passed by two-thirds of those present and entitled to vote.

10th. That all good citizens shall be eligible for admission to this body, under such regulations as may be prescribed by a committee on qualifications, and if any unworthy persons gain admission, they shall on due proof be expelled; and believing ourselves to be executors of the will of the majority of our citizens, we do pledge our sacred honor, to this committee, at the hazard of our lives and our fortunes.

FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION.

Things can be great or small only by comparison. Hence I may be pardoned if I wander over some of the ages that have gone to sleep, in my search for methods of transportation to contrast with that which was introduced into this country by the discovery of gold in California in 1848. The association of the "days of old" with the "days of gold" may lend a finer tint to the picture.

Three thousand years ago the merchants of Persia and Palmyra loaded their camels, the "ships of the desert," with the choicest articles of commerce, and journeyed to the famous marts of the world. The Arabs,

too, participated in these commercial ventures. The frequency of Thracian robbers made those journeys exciting and perilous. The traders traveled in large caravans for mutual protection against outlaws. Transportation in a period less remote reached an era when the city of Nijni Novgorod, on the Volga River, was at the zenith of its splendor. Hundreds of years before man appropriated the power of steam to his own use, merchants journeyed to this famous "City of Fairs" to barter in articles of merchandise. One hundred and thirty thousand people met there annually to participate in the business there done. Some went for the purpose of bartering their wares; some for the purpose of making cash sales, and some chiefly for pleasure. Many others, who had nothing to sell, nothing to barter, attended them for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the traffic of different countries, and to lay in a year's supply of dry goods and groceries. Ideas, as well as commodities, were there exchanged and lessons were there learned.

Much of the goods taken to and from Nijni Novgorod was carried, in carts and on beasts of burden, distances varying from a few miles to a thousand. Commodities borne the greater distances were the finer and more expensive. The finest rugs in the world were brought to this market. Only families of affluence could afford the luxury of using them. Queen Zenobia carried the purple silks of Palmyra to this

famous mart. The cutlery of Damascus and Toledo was among the articles that glittered in the Nijni Novgorod expositions. Diamonds and pearls that had been collected by the dealers of Persia and Arabia, gave a peculiar charm to this enterprise. The Persian attar of roses perfumed the city.

When the traffic was at high tide this city contained **four hundred** thousand souls. Much of the freight that was taken there was carried a part of the way **on the** barques that furrowed the lower Volga. The fairs at Nijni Novgorod opened the first of August and closed about the last of September.

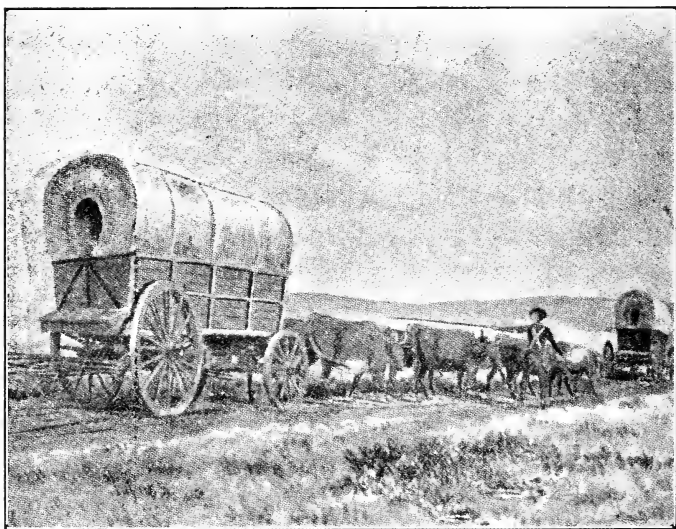
Now let us, by way of contrast, leave the "City of Fairs" and the bustle of caravans traveling to and from Nijni Novgorod and other commercial centers and turn to some of the commercial relations and transportation enterprises of America. The freighting from Independence, on the Missouri River, to the city of Chihuahua in Mexico, was carried on on a great scale. Huge wagons, laden at the former place, moved slowly but grandly over the vast expanse lying between the "Big Muddy" and the city in Mexico. These caravans sometimes loaded at St. Louis; their route lay along what was known as the Santa Fe Trail. This journey of a thousand miles or more was no small undertaking; there were streams to ford, mountains to scale and savages to encounter. Then, too, the sands were so deep and yielding, in places, as to bar advance-

ment until they were covered with brush, poles or hay to prevent the sinking of the wheels. These materials, being seldom at hand, had to be brought from a distance at much inconvenience and expense. In climbing some of the hills, the animals usually attached to a wagon had to be reinforced. Many unfavorable and unexpected conditions little appreciated by people who are inexperienced in freighting under difficulties, camps had to be sought where good water was plentiful and feed abundant, scouts had to be employed and kept constantly on the alert, blacksmiths were in attendance to shoe the animals and to mend the broken chains, and other necessary mechanics were employed to repair the places about the wagons that no longer offered sufficient resistance.

When this freighting was at its meridian the business might have been summed up thus: An average train consisted of twenty wagons, and from six to twelve oxen or mules to haul each wagon. In addition to the teams on duty, there were often from twenty to fifty animals in attendance for relay service. Wagon-masters, teamsters, scouts and herders were always concomitants.

This brings us to the caravan transportation from the Missouri River across the plains to California. This great enterprise was awakened and promoted by the discovery of gold in California in 1848. The "days of old and the days of gold" were at once associated

in the various enterprises of transportation. All the energies man has ever put forth in caravan freighting have been displays of great enterprise and heroism. The transportation of every country in every age was of great importance in its time and still interests us through the element of adventure that belongs to it.



OVERLAND FREIGHT TEAM.

From the viewpoint of greatness the caravan transportation across the American continent knows no equal in the history of the world. Compared with it the transportation undertakings, of which Nijni Novgorod was the center, appear Liliputian. The great investment in transportation facilities from Indepen-

dence to Chihuahua fades into insignificance. Indeed, all enterprises of this class that belonged to preceding ages, lose prestige in comparison with the period now under consideration. True, the silks of Palmyra, the cutlery of Damascus, the rugs of Persia, or the diamonds and pearls of the world's marts had no part in the commerce of the plains. Yet this enterprise was far more important, for it was a traffic in goods most vital in supplying the common necessities of man.

The average cost of the huge "Conestoga," "Pittsburg," or Pennsylvania wagons used in this freighting was about \$1150. First-class mules (for no other would do) averaged \$750 a pair. Five thousand dollars for a wagon and ten-mule team, therefore, is a fair estimate. Add to this the amount of expense of the wagonmasters, drivers and herders and the splendid wages paid to the blacksmiths and carpenters, and the expenses of a twenty-wagon train amount to a respectable fortune.

When this freighting was at the height of its glory, five hundred heavily laden wagons, drawn by three thousand oxen, passed Fort Kearney, Nebraska, every day of the freighting season. These moving caravans extended, in close proximity to one another, along the highway a distance of forty miles. The average distance covered was twenty miles per day.

Not until the marvelous enterprise and intelligence of the present day are far in decline will the story of

caravan transportation across the American continent be forgotten. The greatness of the enterprise and the energy, daring and perseverance of the men who participated in it are a credit to any nation in any age. Every man was an intellectual giant in his sphere, every man was a hero. They were men of ready resources, decision and prompt action. Many of the very men who had charge of those gigantic trains, were fit to command in battle or to govern a state; they were Americans.

THE CAMEL TRAIN.

Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War in the cabinet under President Pierce, recommended as a war measure the construction of a road across the deserts to San Diego. He urged, also, that camels be used in transporting supplies needed in building it. This, he argued, would aid in military reconnoissances while better facilities were maturing. One hundred of these animals were accordingly imported into this country and a competent Turk was employed to manage them. The animals were turned over to Lieut. Edward F. Beale, or at least as many of them as he needed in building the road, which enterprise had been intrusted to him. The trial trip was made with twenty camels and three dromedaries. This camel train, so novel to

this country, was found to be very useful. The beasts were courteous enough to kneel to be loaded and unloaded, while the mule is too mulish to be so accommodating. The mule, moreover, carries but half the burden, is but little more than half as speedy, and requires as much forage and more water. The camels not in immediate use were taken to Tejon, east of the mountains, where they were retained for relay and breeding purposes, there being two males in the herd.

This caravan passed near Socorro, Albuquerque, Yuma, Mohave and San Bernardino, exciting great curiosity and scaring horses, mules and children. News of its coming preceded it in every hamlet along the journey. In every place of moment the natives gathered in large numbers, some coming from great distances to see the wonderful animals and to witness the oriental pageantry. To increase a sensation already bordering on the extreme, Higallu, the Turkish driver, dressed one of the largest dromedaries in its native attire, attaching a large number of small bells in strings from the top of his saddle to its forelegs and around its neck. One of these camels went ten days without drinking, others eight days and some five days, refusing water in the interim.

These animals carried seven hundred pounds with apparent ease and freedom of motion. Only two of them were taken as far as Los Angeles, where they arrived at three P. M., November 10, 1857, having

left San Bernardino, sixty-five miles away, at seven A. M. the same day.

The enterprise, however, was not a success. Freight teams, especially mule teams, were so scared by them as to be unmanageable, so that transportation by means of camel caravans was soon discontinued. The animals were given the freedom of the plains, where some of them were seen thirty years afterwards. Some of the proprietors of menageries, I am told, procured some of their desert ships from this band.

THE FIDELITY OF A HORSE.

Kind reader, let us take a brief respite from the monotonous trend of historical researches and regale on the pleasing relish of anecdote. Having ever admired the horse for his beauty of form, his glossy coat and full, expressive eyes without alluding to his grand and noble bearing, the praise bestowed upon him is ever grateful to me.

In the pioneer days of Arizona and New Mexico, when but few Caucasians were there and those were of stirring "stuff," a few mail routes were established, chiefly for the convenience of government officials that were stationed at various posts along the "wild and woolly" frontier. The mail was carried on horseback. The Indians, especially the Apaches, being

numerous, hostile and treacherous, the rider took his life in his own hands. On one occasion when going from Prescott to Fort Wingate he was attacked by the Apaches when within four or five miles of the latter place. Being severely wounded the rider fell from his horse. Two Bits, (this being the name of the



"TWO BITS."

horse,) who was also wounded in several places, halting, waited a moment, in a shower of bullets, for his brave rider to rally and mount, which he failed to do. The noble animal after smelling at his master's head galloped away to Fort Wingate, where the boys, see-

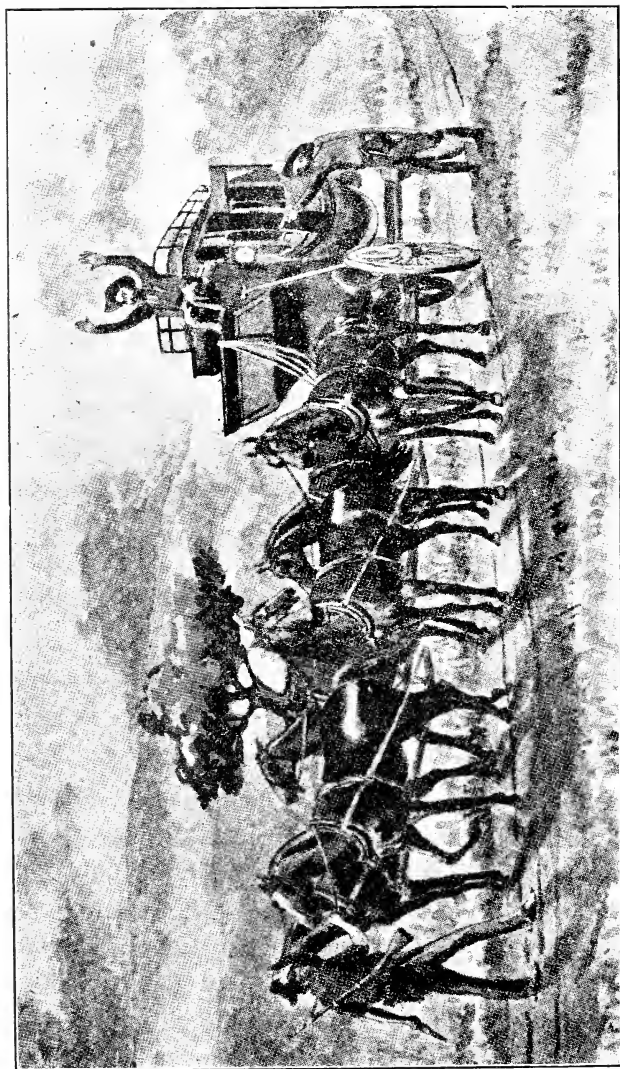
ing him bloody and riderless, tried in their anxiety to catch him. Two Bits would not be caught. Looking first, with his dark, soft eyes, on those who were trying to catch him, he then pointed with his nose up the road to Prescott. The poor animal's signs were his only language. With the least possible delay a dozen well-armed and well-mounted men galloped on the road toward Prescott, Two Bits leading the way. The Apaches made good their escape. Two Bits guided the rescuing party to the scene in time to save his fallen rider, by whose side he fell and immediately expired. A rude monument of huge boulders was erected on the spot to keep green in the memory of travelers the fidelity of Two Bits. This story is well authenticated.

OVERLAND MAIL.

For seven or eight years after the discovery of gold, the mail was received in California not oftener than once in two weeks and then by steamer by the way of Panama, heavy gales sometimes deterring it for several days. Looking toward the removal of this inconvenience the availability of an overland mail began to be considered by men of enterprise. The first mail route extending any considerable distance over the country west of the Missouri River, was established in the interest of the Mormons after their colony

at Salt Lake had reached a flourishing and prosperous condition. This route was called "The Great Salt Lake Mail," embracing a distance of 1200 miles, most of which was the undisputed dominion of the buffalo, the antelope and the savage. The next step taken to bring the interior in touch with the Pacific colonies was by establishing a mail route, early in the '50's, between Sacramento and Salt Lake City. At a time a little less remote, three men were seen attired in buckskin suits packing the mail on mules from Independence to Salt Lake City. Each man was provided with two mules, one for his own convenience and one for the mail. They were between four and five weeks making the trip. In 1857-58 a mail route was so established as to accommodate Forts Kearney, Laramie and Bridger, covering a distance of 1200 miles. The mail was hauled by mule teams over the entire distance with but three relay stations. This mail, too, like most of the early mails, was characterized by grave and numerous irregularities, and yet irregular as it was the convenience it brought was of great moment.

Following this was the Butterfield Overland Mail Company, which ought to receive more notice than can be afforded in this volume. The company entered into a contract with the United States Government to carry the mail from St. Louis to San Francisco, the contract being signed on the 15th day of September, 1857.



HOLD-UP OF THE OVERLAND MAIL.

This enterprise was gigantic in its inception, colossal in its development. Vast expenditures only could promise success. The route did not lie in a direct line across the Plains, but veering far to the south marked out an area somewhat crescent in shape. At Van Buren, on the Arkansas River opposite Fort Smith, 500 miles from St. Louis, this and the Memphis mail met and proceeded along one common route to San Francisco, passing through the Choctaw Nation's reserve in the Indian Territory, crossing the Red River at Colvert's Ferry; "thence across the prairies of northern Texas via Sherman, thence to Fort Chadborn on the Little Colorado in Texas." After leaving Sherman not a settlement was met for a distance of 490 miles. On the 23rd of September the stage reached "Fort Belknap," in Texas, 820 miles out from St. Louis. Thence the route took in the Staked Plains, Pecos River, and Guadalupe Pass, thence to the Rio Grande River. The route led across Doubtful Pass, Tucson, Parima Indians' village on the Gila River, thence to Maricopa Wells, thence across the forty-mile desert, crossing the Colorado at "Arizona City" (a few mud huts), passing Los Angeles and Mojave desert and on to San Francisco, covering a distance of two thousand seven hundred and thirty miles.

The schedule time was twenty-five days, three days ahead of the ocean steamer. Just one year after the signing of the contract, a mail coach left St. Louis and

the Golden Gate simultaneously. Both coaches reached the objective point ahead of schedule time. Great demonstrations were made at each terminus of the line. In St. Louis guns were fired, flags were raised, and bunting was displayed. The principal business streets were thronged with people eager to manifest their satisfaction and pleasure. In San Francisco the crowd was not less wide awake and active; there were bonfires and illuminations in various business centers in California.

For carrying this semiweekly mail the Government paid six hundred thousand dollars per annum. This Mail Company had one hundred Concord coaches which were among the very best that ever adorned a public thoroughfare or bore a burden of human beings. The company was also provided with one thousand horses, five hundred mules and seven hundred and fifty men, of whom more than one hundred and fifty were employed as drivers. The stage fare from St. Louis to San Francisco was one hundred dollars in gold.

Four years after the Butterfield overland mail contract was entered into, a daily overland mail from Atchison to Hangtown, California, was established. These coaches, like those on the Butterfield route, were models of strength, convenience and beauty; the horses were fine American stock, the best that could be found, and the mules were carefully selected. Skilled and

faithful drivers whose mettle had been tested and who were known to be eighteen carat, were employed. The meals along this line were from fifty cents to two dollars each. To make the schedule time the drivers must perform the unprecedented task of covering one hundred miles every day, which performance stands out as preeminent skill, hardihood and "pluck" when it is realized that there were mountains to conquer, streams to cross, and savages to be met. This was called the central route. As on the Butterfield route, two coaches left simultaneously on the trial trip—one from St. Joseph, on the Missouri River, and one from the Sunset Sea. The time fixed upon for starting was July 1, 1861. Great were the demonstrations at each point.

THE PONY EXPRESS.

The "Pony Express" was organized early in 1860 for the purpose of carrying letters across the country from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, in eight days. About sunset on the third day of April, 1860, Johnnie Frey, a light, nervy rider, mounted on a black charger, left St. Joseph on the trial trip, gazed upon by the largest crowd of spectators that had ever assembled on the banks of the "Big Muddy." Not so much interest was shown in Macedonia when Alexander the Great vaulted into the saddle of the

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spirited Bucephalus. At the moment this rider left St. Joseph for the West, Harry Roff, another rider, left an excited crowd at Sacramento and flew like the wind toward the Rising Sun. Frey's horse was jet black, and Roff's was milk white.

The day on which the trial trip was to commence having been announced, the people of St. Joseph and the surrounding country made arrangements to witness the spectacle. Interest in the enterprise awoke and rapidly increased as the appointed day drew near, when it ripened into enthusiasm. On April third St. Joseph and Sacramento, the terminal cities, were suitably decorated. Flags waved to the breeze, bunting hung out along the business streets, and the children of toil were ablaze with excitement and pleasure. Men, women and children came from the rural districts to enjoy the gala day. Many who were present on that memorable day are yet among the living. A few minutes before the time to start a brass band put in an appearance at the levee, in St. Joseph, where the ferry was in waiting to carry the rider across the stream. Elegantly dressed women, of graceful manners, were seen crossing the streets here and there and promenading the sidewalks. Boys were munching candy and amusing themselves with firecrackers, and the girls were chewing gum. Everybody was happy. Some men, I am told, were intoxicated,—with delight undoubtedly. The time was now up. The loud-voiced

cannon made the announcement. The band played "Hail to the Chief," as the jet black horse, bearing his lithe rider stepped onto the ferry. Handkerchiefs waved and shouts of "Hurrah for Johnnie Frey" reverberated on the evening air, as horse and rider flew like the wind toward the Sunset Sea.



THE PONY EXPRESS.

W. H. Russell, of Leavenworth, Kansas, was the promoter of this pony express and furnished most of the means with which to place the enterprise on a working basis. Instead of using ponies, as would be indicated by the name of the organization, the animals were well-bred American horses of remarkable speed.

strength and endurance. Some of them, however, were bronchos, and the best of that kind obtainable. There were at this time only four military posts between St. Joseph and the Pacific Ocean. Two hundred miles must be covered every twenty-four hours by the riders, forty of whom were going east, while as many more were going west.

The weight of their letters was limited to fifteen pounds and five dollars was the price of carrying each half ounce. The post office department soon, however, reduced the price to one dollar per half ounce. Two minutes were allowed to change horses, but not more than fifteen or twenty seconds were occupied. Many of the letters were written on tissue paper. The first "Pony" west carried only eight letters.

Jack Keetley rode at one time three hundred and forty miles without rest or sleep, covering the entire distance in thirty-one hours. He fell asleep at Ash Point and slept in the saddle all the way to Seneca, a distance of five miles. Melville Baugn rode a pony from Fort Kearney to Thirty-two-Mile Creek, where it was stolen and taken to Loup Fork. The rider having struck the thief's trail, recovered his pony and took him back to Fort Kearney where the letter pouch was in waiting. A few years afterwards he was hung for murder, somewhere in Kansas. Jim Moore, another rider, made two hundred and eighty miles in fourteen hours and forty-six minutes.

From a very able work by Messrs. Root and Connelley I quote the following story about William F. Cody, Buffalo Bill: "He has probably seen as many wild Indians as any one; and he has undoubtedly made more 'good Indians' than any other living man. He covered at one time one of the longest 'runs' ever made on the 'Pony Route' between the 'Big Muddy' and the great ocean. After riding his seventy-five miles and about to hand over his mail pouch to the next rider, he found the latter dead, having been killed in a fight; so Cody volunteered to continue the 'run' eighty-five miles in addition to the seventy-five miles he had already ridden. The entire distance—remarkable as it may appear—was accomplished inside of schedule time. He then turned back and made the distance in to Red Buttes in due time, a continuous ride of over three hundred and twenty miles without rest, at an average gait of fifteen miles an hour."

William James, a lad of seventeen, rode California mustangs. His station embraced sixty miles, and he made the round trip, one hundred and twenty miles, in twelve hours. Another rider, Charles Cliff, a few years later, in a fight with the Indians, received three balls in his body and twenty-seven in his clothes. He was employed at the time by a freighter who had nine wagons in his train and was besieged by one hundred Sioux warriors.

The pay of the riders was fifty dollars and up per month, and board. Some who rode through perilous and risky regions received one hundred and fifty dollars. They all rode day and night and through all kinds of weather. The average weight of the riders, of whom there were not less than one hundred, was one hundred and thirty-five pounds. There were about five hundred saddle horses, some of which cost two hundred dollars a head. One hundred and ninety stations were kept up and as many men employed to tend them. Over this two thousand mile trail the ponies were distributed from nine to fifteen miles apart, the distance being regulated by the nature and condition of the road. The combined weight of saddle, bridle and empty leathern pouches was thirteen pounds. The transit of some of the heavy letters cost more than twenty-five dollars. In all this wild work but one pouch was ever lost, and fortunately that contained but little mail and that of comparatively little importance. The letters were wrapped in oiled silk.

Some of the Indians between Salt Lake and the Sierra Nevada mountains went on the warpath, driving away stock and burning stations; the Piutes and Shoshones taking an active part. Several station keepers were killed in these forays. Volunteers soon settled the outbreak. Stations were rebuilt and after some delay the business went bravely on; but not until a vast sum of money had been expended.

President Lincoln's first inaugural address was carried from St. Joseph to Sacramento in seven days and seventeen hours. Antelope, deer and buffalo gazed upon the rider as he flew like the wind across the plains. The monotony of the long, dreary trail was unbroken for hundreds of miles save by the primitive stations which had been constructed in the interests of the Pony Express. Hitherto communication across the plains had been slow,—too slow to satisfy the needs of the people who were widely separated from friends and from business points. The Pony Express, inspiring new hopes, was hailed with acclaim. From a financial point of view it was not a success, so that this business enterprise ran its course within eighteen months.

BEN HOLLIDAY.

Benjamin Holliday was born in the State of Kentucky, near the Blue Licks, so often mentioned in the biography of Daniel Boone. He was a very remarkable man and an excellent one in a new country. Most of his life was spent in Missouri and on the plains, where he was engaged in either merchandising or teaming. Mr. Holliday was the Napoleon of stage enterprises, for which work he was preeminently fitted, being fearless, energetic and intellectual. He amassed a large fortune while spending money freely if not

wildly. Through love of adventure and with marvelous business tact, he put himself at the head of the greatest stage lines in the world. Besides operating a network of stage lines, he was the sole owner of fifteen ocean steamers. It may be truly said that Mr. Holliday made his fortune fairly. The time for trusts, for graft, for enslaving the poor, for legal theft and for robbing childhood of its youth, was yet to come.

On one occasion when Mr. Holliday was on the Pacific Coast he received notice that his presence was highly important in New York City. Notifying his agents to have things ready along the line he set out on his Concord stage, covering two thousand miles in twelve days and two hours.

His great wealth rapidly faded as the Union Pacific extended its rails toward the sea. In the beginning of the winter of 1856 he sold his interest in the overland stage business to Wells, Fargo and Company and retired from that locality. Mr. Holliday's history in its entirety is little less than a romance. He had thrilling adventures in his encounters with savages, and at other times when riding in his own stage was commanded to throw up his hands. He died in Portland, Oregon, 1877.

FREIGHTING IN CALIFORNIA.

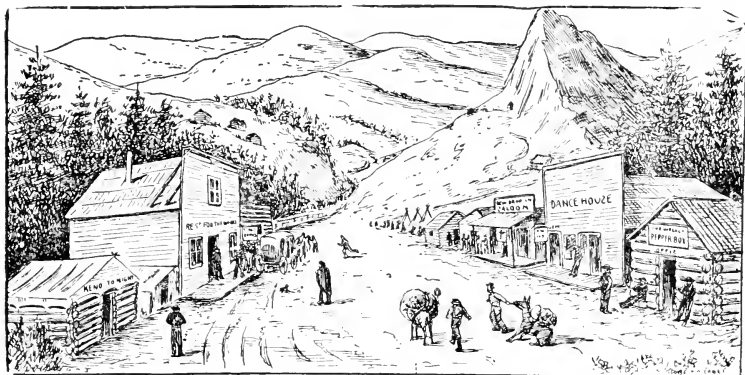
Freighting to California during the great carnival of gold was not confined to the caravan enterprise. The canvases of freighters dotted the seas; barks from the South American states beat their way up to the Golden Gate and up the Sacramento River. Merchantmen from New York, Boston, and Liverpool doubled Cape Horn with San Francisco or Sacramento as their objective point. Picks, shovels and other mining appliances were embraced in their traffic. The growing demand for farming implements had to be met. Houses were framed in Boston and raised in San Francisco or Sacramento. On the first day of September, 1849, only one year and six months after the discovery of gold, the following vessels were lying at the Sacramento wharf: barks, *Praxitales*, *Joven*, *Harriet Newell*, *Whiton*, *Eliza Elvira*, *William Jay*, *Isabel* and *Croton*; brigs, *John Ender*, *Salito*, *Jackim*, *Viola*, *Sterling*, *North Star*, *Charlotte*, *Emily*, *Bourne*, *Almina*, *Cordelia* and *George Emery*; schooners, *Odd Fellow*, *Lola*, *Gazelle*, *General Lane*, *Pomona*, *Anthern* and *Catherine*.

When Marshall, in 1848, picked the first gold nugget from the tail-race at Sutter's Mill, northern California was almost an unbroken solitude. There were

few settlements within its boundaries and they were widely scattered. A man could ride all day on horseback over a country of unsurpassed beauty and not see a civilized man or dwelling. The population was chiefly in or near the Spanish missions and presidios. Before the memorable year of '49 was past, the territory was ready to take its place as a sister state in the federal union. Hamlets dotted the great valleys of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers; grain fields, waving in golden splendor, acknowledged the genius of husbandry. Freighting in California had grown to colossal proportions, and as Sacramento was the great commercial center, it was usually one of the terminal points. In December of '49, teamsters commanded fifty dollars per ton for hauling freight from Sacramento to Mormon Island, a distance of less than thirty miles.

Soon after the discovery of the Comstock lode in Nevada, and before the transcontinental railroad was intersected by the railroad built through Carson Valley, the freighting from Sacramento to the foothills and over the Sierras to Virginia City was immense. Five hundred heavy-laden wagons left the former place daily. These wagons and trains were similar to those that freighted across the plains, which have been described on former pages. I will, however, note one or two differences. The freight teams in California usually drew two wagons in a train, wagon number

two being attached to the rear of wagon number one, and denominated the "back-action." The leaders carried a collection of bells, tastily arranged in chimes. These bells were secured to an arch whose ends were attached to the hames of the harness. These "merry chimes" were used less for adornment than for utility. The jingling being heard quite a distance tended to avert any difficulties that might arise



A MINING TOWN.

through the unexpected meeting of a team where passing would be difficult.

A pack animal was called a "miner's brig" and was very useful in those pioneer days. One man told me that when he was mining in the foothills in the Sierras in '49, he hired a "miner's brig" and went to Sacramento for "grub." He said he had never stowed a cargo on a miner's brig, and so to make his venture a success, he gave an expert a dollar and seventy-five

cents to superintend the loading. Not being able to reach home the first day out he was forced to camp at night on the trail, and fearing he might be unable to reload in the morning, he left the load on the horse all night and until he reached home the next day.

In those days goods boxes were taken to pieces, stacked up and labeled "choice lumber for sale." The dealer found ready sale for his ware at twelve and a half cents per foot, board measure, with no extra charge for nails and knot holes.

BILL OF FARE.

The following is taken from the Overland Stage to California, showing the price of a meal at a Hangtown, now Placerville, eating house in 1850:

Soup.

Bean	\$1 00
Ox tail (short)	1 50

Roast.

Beef, Mexican (prime cut)	1 50
Beef, up along	1 00
Beef, plain	1 00
Beef, with one potato (fair size)	1 25
Beef, tame, from the States	1 50

Vegetables.

Baked beans, plain	75
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Baked beans, greased	\$1 00
Two potatoes (medium size)	50
Two potatoes, peeled	75

Entrees.

Sauerkraut	1 00
Bacon, fried	1 00
Bacon, stuffed	1 50
Hash, low grade	75
Hash, 18 carats	1 00

Game.

Codfish balls, per pair	75
Grizzly, roast	1 00
Grizzly, fried	75
Jackass rabbit (whole)	1 00

Pastry.

Rice pudding, plain	75
Rice pudding, with molasses	1 00
Rice pudding, with brandy peaches	2 00
Square meal, with dessert	3 00

Payable in advance.

N. B.—Gold scales at the end of the bar.

Be it remembered that when a meal was served by a fair-looking Caucasian girl, twenty-five cents was added.

BULL FIGHTS.

In 1850 an amphitheater, with an arena one hundred feet in diameter, was built in Sacramento City for the purpose of entertaining spectators with gladiatorial contests. A man sometimes entered the arena to contend with a Spanish bull; but the principal contests, like those of Wall Street, were between the "bulls" and the "bears." A donkey, too, sometimes entered the prize ring to test the mettle of an adversary. This brute, stupid as he seemingly is, fights a desperate battle, not being outclassed in prowess by the bear. One of these long-eared personifications of stupidity fought several battles with a different bear each time and in every instance but one killed his antagonist. The manager of those entertainments employed several mounted vaqueros who were in attendance to save the life of a vanquished foe or to avert any calamity to which an accident or unexpected occurrence might tend.

A Spanish bull and a bear once entered the arena to contend for the championship, when a portion of the wall between the pit and the arena gave way, exposing the audience to the rage of the infuriated animals. Within the short interval of ten seconds from this occurrence three vaqueros, entering the arena,

established themselves each on the corner of a triangle and with their lariats had the bull pinioned in the center.

These barbarous exhibitions, like cockfights, flourished under Spanish rule and Spanish customs, but were too barren of sentiment to please people of more civilized habits, and the amusement early waned under the influx of Americans. There was a rough-and-ready air about the immigrants in California and society did not, at that time, savor of refined elegance common to the coteries of Madam Recamier; but there was at all times a strong undercurrent of grand good sense and noble manhood, and a golden chord permeated the breast, from which tones of sympathy were easily swept. An ugly man after surveying himself awhile in the glass remarked, "Not handsome. but d—d genteel."

SUTTER'S PORTRAIT.

In 1855, the Legislature of California enacted a law appropriating \$2,500 to purchase of William S. Jenett, Esq., the full length portrait of Major-General John Augustus Sutter.

BRYANT DINES WITH SUTTER.

When Edwin Bryant first came to California, he and a friend accepted an invitation to dine with General Sutter. Bryant, being eminent authority, the reader may be pleased to read what he says of it. I will quote from him. He says:

“Captain Sutter’s dining room and his table furniture do not present a very luxurious appearance. The room is unfurnished, with the exceptions of a common deal table standing in the center, and some benches which are substituted for chairs. The table when spread presented a correspondingly primitive aspect of viands. The first course consisted of good soup served to each guest in a china bowl with silver spoons. The bowls, after they had been used for this purpose, were taken away and cleansed by the Indian servant, and were afterwards used as tumblers from which we drank our water. The next course consisted of two dishes of meat, one roasted and one fried, and both highly seasoned with onions. I am thus particular, because I wish to convey as accurately as I can the style and mode of living, in California, of intelligent gentlemen of foreign birth who have been accustomed to all the luxuries of the most refined civilization.”

FIRST PAPER AND FIRST JUDICIARY IN SACRAMENTO.

On the 28th of April, 1849, the "Placer Times" was commenced at the Fort; a weekly, printed on foolscap, and E. C. Kemble was the editor, compositor, printer and publisher. In the same year, after the necessary preliminaries, H. A. Schoolcraft was elected Alcalde, and A. M. Turner, Sheriff. For awhile this constituted the Judiciary of Northern California.

GAMBLING.

Gambling was soon introduced into Sacramento City where it was practiced on a colossal scale. Many men from the United States had earned a few hundred dollars which they brought to Sacramento to send to those who were dependent upon them; but while still possessed of this treasure and the noble intention of sending it to those to whom they were bound by the fondest memories and by the strongest ties of kindred, they stepped into these gaming places and there remained until fortune, hopes and happiness were gone.

A JOYOUS REUNION.

General Sutter paid a man ten dollars a day and expenses to go to Switzerland and bring his family to California. The distinguished pioneer welcomed to his adopted home his family and numerous forms and faces familiar to his early years and made sacred by tender recollections. After an absence of eighteen years from Fatherland, the most of which time was spent afar from scenes of civilization, what must have been the happiness with which he greeted those who were endeared to him by the sacred ties of consanguinity, in the country he had learned to love so well. The mansion on his princely Hock estate will echo to the sound of happy voices. "Hock" was the name of an Indian tribe that lived near by and for whom the estate was named.

NOTICE OF SUTTER.

The Placerville Times of July 31, 1850, has the following: "We regret extremely to learn through our friend Dr. Lawrence, who has been some time in attendance upon the family of Captain Sutter, that they continue afflicted with severe illness. The Captain himself, his wife and servants are suffering from

attacks of fever. It is very desirable that, under the present circumstances, they should be undisturbed by the visits of friends and acquaintances. His generous and hospitable disposition makes all welcome to his mansion, but it is impossible for him to entertain at present, and he earnestly desires a respite. 'The doctor has been authorized to communicate this to the public. All those persons having business transactions with him, are desired to call on his agent and attorney, John S. Fowler, Esq.'

SUTTER'S SAW.

Mrs. Jane Cooper, the widow of Mr. John H. Cooper, has recently presented to the Sacramento Pioneer Society a saw used in the construction of Sutter's Fort and also the historic mill at Coloma. It is seven feet in length. Captain Sutter presented it to Mark Stuart in 1848 and it has been in possession of the family ever since. On the Stuart premises, Twenty-ninth and B streets, still lie the stones used in grinding bark for Sutter's tannery, April, 1849.

MARRIAGE OF SUTTER'S DAUGHTER.

The marriage of Mr. Engler to Miss Sutter took place at the Hock Farm and was largely attended, more than two hundred guests being present to witness the ceremony, which is said to have been very imposing and of unusual interest. The papers of Sacramento and Marysville speak of it as having been a magnificent affair. The press of other cities made pleasing allusions to it.

Miss Sutter was said to be a lady of elegant manners and rare beauty; presenting much of the fascinating personality for which her noble father was distinguished. The beautiful sentiment that adorns the Switzer's character is displayed in the following occurrence: A Swiss army in a foreign service, on hearing the enemy sing a patriotic song, became so moved by its simplicity and pathos, that they disbanded, notwithstanding the rigor of martial law, and retired to their homes among the Alpine crags and vine-clad vales of their native land.

PETER LASSEN

Who was born on the 7th day of August, 1800, in Copenhagen, Denmark, merits a notice in this volume. In 1824 he came to Boston and after working several months in New England towns at blacksmithing, a trade he learned in his native country, he moved to Katesville, Missouri, where he renewed his association with Vulcan. The slow growth and tame appearance of that great and good state, not being in harmony with his venturesome and progressive spirit, he left Missouri in 1839 in company with twenty-seven men and two women who crossed the plains, reaching Oregon in autumn, where he remained till spring. The two women mentioned were the wives of two of the party.

In May a vessel left Oregon with some English missionaries who designed touching California on their return. On this vessel Lassen and several of his comrades shipped, putting into Bodega. California being a Mexican province the commandant sent a squad of soldiers to prevent a landing. The Russians, being in possession of the place and having a strong military force, the governor ordered the Mexican soldiers to leave the place without delay. They left.

When Lassen and the other adventurers left Missouri, they expected to reach a settlement somewhere in the Sacramento Valley where there were Americans and other English-speaking people. When they disembarked at Bodega they found themselves, with depleted coffers, in an inhospitable country without passports or the means of procuring them. Being men with hearts for any fate, in this dilemma they addressed in substance the following communication to Thomas O. Larkin, the American consul at Monterey. William Wiggins, one of the party, acted as amanuensis.

Dear Sir:—We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, through a desire to settle in this country and naturalize to its government, landed several days ago in Bodega. Being unable for want of funds to remain long here and for want of passports to leave, we appeal to you, Sir, for advice and such protection as gentlemen of respectable pursuits are entitled to. We are under protection of the Russians until we hear from you.

We are assured it will please you to give this matter as early attention as conditions will permit. If we cannot settle in this country we ask permission to go to our own. Passports have been refused us by those who are in position to grant them. If you, Sir, are powerless to bestow the relief sought we shall be forced to

consider ourselves in an enemy's country and to use such defense as our arms may furnish.

With great respect, we are,

David Dutton
James Benson
Peter Lassen
William Wiggins
Levi Wilder
Josiah Wright.

After remaining two months at Bodega they went to Yerba Buena, whence Lassen went to San Jose, where he spent the winter at smithing. In the ensuing spring he invested in some land near Santa Cruz, on which he built a sawmill. After running this mill awhile, with varying results, he sold out his Santa Cruz possessions for one hundred mules and a few horses which he drove to New Helvetia and grazed near Sutter's Fort. He worked at his trade for Sutter, receiving stock in payment for his services.

In 1843 he and James Burheim accompanied John Bidwell in pursuit of a party who were bound for Oregon and who had stolen some animals from New Helvetia. Finding the stock in charge of the party that stole it, Bidwell asked one of the men where they got it. The thief estimating the prowess of Bidwell and his sturdy comrades replied, "That stock, Sir, does not belong to us and we will be glad if you will take it away, for it has annoyed us greatly." On this trip

Bidwell mapped the Sacramento Valley and named the streams. He afterwards regretted that he gave the name "Stony Creek" to a stream so grand. Mr. Lassen being enamored of the country he saw in the upper Sacramento Valley, applied to Governor Micheltorena for a grant of land which he afterwards obtained. This grant was watered by Deer Creek and is in Tehama County. He settled upon the grant in 1845 and laid out a town which he called "Benton City." Although now settled quite a distance from Sutter's Fort, he was in frequent communication with New Helvetia, keeping himself as much in touch with the great adventurer as possible. This beautiful grant, this princely possession soon passed out of Lassen's control. The largest vineyard in the world now adorns that empire.

When Gillespie was trying to overtake Col. Fremont who was on his way to Oregon in 1846, he was furnished by Sutter with horses and a guide to enable him to reach this place. Here Gillespie bought some animals of Lassen and hired Neal to guide him over Fremont's trail. "Peter Lassen's Place," like Sutter's Fort, became known to the country as a landmark. Sutter in his diary says: "When they (alluding to the Lassen party) told the Russian governor that they wanted to join me he received them very kindly and hospitably, furnishing them with fine horses, new saddles, etc., at a very low rate and gave them direc-

tions where about they would have to travel without being seen by some Spaniards."

In 1849 Lassen, with some stock and other supplies, went into Nevada as far as the Humboldt River to meet the emigrants who had crossed the plains en route to California and were, some of them, in want. These supplies he sold to those who were able to buy and gave to those who were not.

One party who had quite a large train desiring to settle not far from the "Peter Lassen Place" of which they had heard, Lassen told them they could get there by a route that would shorten their journey by two hundred miles; whereupon he was solicited to lead the way, which he undertook to do. They veered to the right of the old trail and went by Black Rock Springs. The party undertook to go to the Buttes which afterwards took Lassen's name. Had they done this, the undertaking would have been a success. These Buttes could be plainly seen from Black Rock Springs. However, intervening timber that embowered the foothills gradually hid their snowy brows till the view was entirely lost. The party mistaken in their course journeyed as far north of their objective point as they would have been south of it had they taken the old emigrant road to Sutter's Fort.

Lassen, sighting the Buttes, saw the mistake he had made and sought to correct it by going directly toward them. The party feeling sore over the mistake.

the vast amount of unnecessary hardship they had endured, the time lost and the toil they were then unable to avert, were irritable and impatient. However, Lassen led them on toward the "Promised Land."

Before they reached the Buttes, which happily were almost continuously in sight, storms began to gather and snow sometimes whitened the ground. Ere reaching the summit of the range they found the snow so deep as to be cumbersome, retarding their headway and hastening to a crisis the half-famished condition of their animals. Trees were felled by the ax-men that the cattle might browse. Here the party in their dark forebodings and consequent rashness neared a condition of incipient mutiny. They hurled their imprecations at Lassen. A few hot-headed ones even threatened to hang him. In this emergency his conscientiousness and honesty of purpose imbued him with courage for which he was justly renowned.

After delivering to the party an informal address in which he reviewed with much feeling the toil they had nobly endured, and the obstacles they had grandly overcome, he advised them that the same heroism properly directed would in a few days lead them to the goal of their honorable ambition. "I have to admit," he said, "that the difficulty and disappointment you have met and the tasks you have performed would dishearten the average man. But, gentlemen, you are not of that class. You are heroes. Assured I am that not one

of you can be persuaded to relinquish his loyalty to your earnest pursuits when you are about to enjoy the fruition of your early hopes. Go with me," he continued, "to the top of that hill and if I do not show you Sacramento Valley, you may hang me, if that is your determination." Two or three men were delegated by the party to go with him. Long before they reached the top of the hill they signaled back that the valley was in sight. From this on, Lassen was a champion. How changeable is man.

Lassen rendered the United States good service in the conquest of California and was appointed Indian agent by the government. He spent the closing years of his life in Honey Lake Valley. Late in the fifties he, Mr. Glasscock and another man went to Black Rock Springs in Nevada to prospect for silver. He was murdered in his cabin in 1859. He was buried about five miles from Susanville in Lassen county. His grave is in the shade of the largest pine trees in that section of the country. In honor of this pioneer, adventurer, patriot and honest man's friend, Lassen county and one of the majestic peaks of the Sierras were fittingly named. A monument bearing his inscription marks his last resting place.

Peter Lassen's name like that of Fremont, Sutter, General Bidwell and a score of others is so linked with the pioneer days of the great and beautiful State of California that it will live on, gathering splendor through passing cycles of time.

JAMES LICK.

In recording the names of men whose benefactions make them remembered and loved, one is conscious of acting a noble part. If we, ourselves, cannot be benefactors, be it ours to appreciate and commend beneficence in others. All good men have a kind remembrance of him who gives generously of his time and means to improve the condition of man.

In compiling this work I esteem it not only a great pleasure but a duty to pen a kindly remark in regard to one of the world's greatest benefactors, James Lick. Conscious I am that gifted pens have, long since, traced the outline of his virtues in abler productions than mine, and that the historian whose talents will unfold in an age more remote from his time than the present, will record his fame in characters of living light. To say that Mr. Lick was a Californian is too narrow to be just. James Lick was an American. The world, it is certain, will fix his home on the planet.

James Lick was born in Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania, August 25, 1796, where he received a common school education. Early in life he obtained employment as an organ and piano maker in Hanover, Pa., and then in Baltimore, Md. In 1820 he went into business in Philadelphia, but a year later he emigrated

to Buenos Ayres, South America, where for some time he engaged in the manufacture and sale of musical instruments. Subsequently he went to Valparaiso and other places in South America, whence, in 1847, he went to California, where he invested heavily in real estate, and built a flouring mill at San Jose at an expense of \$200,000. This mill, I am told, was finished with fine tropical woods embracing rosewood and mahogany and was called Lick's Mill. He spent the last years of his life in San Francisco, where for a long time he was President of the Society of California Pioneers. He died October 1, 1876, leaving by will some \$5,000,000 for various philanthropic purposes. He left \$60,000 for the erection of a bronze monument in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, inscribed, in letters of gold, to the memory of the immortal bard, Francis Scott Key, who wrote the "Star-Spangled Banner." On this monument the entire poem, so dear to every American heart, is engraved also in letters of gold. In building this monument the great philanthropist not only endeared himself to every American who loves his country, but he built to his own name a monument that is impervious to the shafts of forgetfulness.

In 1884 the trustees made a cash distribution as follows:

For the Protestant Orphan Asylum in San Francisco, \$25,000.

To the trustees of the Ladies' Protective and Relief Society of San Francisco, \$25,000.

To the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, for the purchase of scientific and mechanical works, \$10,000.

The Pioneer Hall in San Francisco and the Academy of Sciences were also founded by Mr. Lick.

To the trustees of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, of San Francisco, \$10,000.

For the young and helpless, he gave to three orphan asylums \$25,000 each.

For the aged and needy ladies who are unable to support themselves and who have no resources of their own, he founded an institution called the Old Ladies' Home, with \$100,000.

For the health and comfort of the people he caused to be expended \$150,000 for the erection and maintenance of free baths in the city of San Francisco, the same to be forever maintained for the free use of the public.

To educate boys and girls in the practical arts of life, he founded and endowed the School of Mechanical Arts, in San Francisco, with \$450,000. The school is to be open to the youths born in California.

To the people of the world he built and equipped, at a cost of \$700,000, an observatory having an objective glass of 36 inches diameter clear of aperture, the largest lens in the world. As may be imagined, a

vast amount of money was expended in an effort to produce this objective before the work was accomplished. Clark and Son, who had just constructed the Russian Pulkowa objective, which had a diameter of 30 inches, doubted very much whether an objective 36 inches in diameter could be obtained and whether the same would not yield by flexure when placed in the tube. Fiel and Sons, of Paris, undertook the task. After nineteen trials and a lapse of some two years, they again undertook it and succeeded. Some time in October, 1887, they reported that the glasses were made; immediately thereafter a Pullman passenger car was especially prepared and placed in readiness to receive them, and in this car, with greatest care, they were transported across the continent to Mount Hamilton. Warner and Swazey of Cleveland, Ohio, made the mounting machinery and the Union Iron Works made the steel floor and great dome.

The great observatory was erected on Mount Hamilton, at an elevation of four thousand two hundred and nine feet above the sea, a site selected by Mr. Lick. The grounds, embracing two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine acres on the top and slopes of Mount Hamilton, were acquired as follows: Mr. Lick purchased one hundred and forty-nine acres; the United States donated two thousand and thirty acres; the State of California three hundred and twenty acres, and R. F. Morrow forty acres.

The roadway to the top of the mountain was constructed by Santa Clara County in the year 1876, at a cost of \$78,000.

In June, 1888, the building with all the instruments and equipments, was turned over to the regents of the University of California.

Mr. Lick appropriated \$20,000 for the erection of a Home Memorial at Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania.

To erect the Paine Memorial Hall in Boston, Massachusetts, Mr. Lick gave \$60,000. This hall, which is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Paine, is to be open for the discussion of all political, religious and scientific topics.

And finally, all of his means, not otherwise appropriated, was to be equally divided between the Pioneers of California and the Academy of Sciences in San Francisco for the purposes stated in the bequest.

I have endeavored very briefly to state in this sketch some facts that every one of my readers will be glad to know; and, knowing them, will cherish a sense of gladness inspired by the recollection that they lived in the age, in the century, in the country, of him who added splendor to grandeur by crowning Mount Hamilton with glory that will never dim.

DEATH OF E. V. SUTTER.

On February 22, 1883, Mayor Bartlett of San Francisco, afterwards Governor of California, received from the Secretary of State at Washington, D. C., a communication relating to the death of Emil V. Sutter, at Ostend, Belgium, July 3, 1881. The deceased was the son of General John A. Sutter. The Secretary of State enclosed a photograph of the deceased, and letters showing that he had arrived at Ostend from Havre, July 1, 1881. He intended to go to London in a few days, thence to the United States, but was taken suddenly ill and died on the night of the third of July. He had taken a room at Hotel Bellevue, where he registered his name, and where he died. The deceased was for many years engaged in business in San Francisco as notary public, and was a member of the Pioneer Society. He visited Europe for the purpose of disposing of some mines.

Just twenty-seven years prior to the death of this son at Ostend the celebrated "Ostend Manifesto," already referred to, was issued at the same place.

LAST DAYS OF GENERAL J. A. SUTTER.

Unwilling to live longer amid the scenes of his misfortunes, General Sutter in 1868 took an affectionate leave of the country he loved so well and found a new home with the Moravians in the quiet town of Lititz in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His son, J. A. Sutter, Jr., had been for many years a United States Consul at Acapulco, Mexico, and had married a Mexican lady. The General feeling a deep interest in his grandchildren removed the two grand-daughters to Lititz where they would be favored with better educational advantages. This circumstance, it is thought, was among the considerations that induced him to adopt that place as a future home.

The simplicity, too, of the Moravian society and the quiet of the town were grateful and soothing to the distinguished adventurer in the evening of his days. His life, in his new home, was peaceful; and, had he been still possessed of his estates so beautiful and princely, it would have been tranquil and serene. The water of the Lititz Springs was healing to his physical ills, rheumatic in character, from which he had been a great sufferer. In 1871, he built, for himself and wife, a house where they continued to live until the close of his life.

While at Washington, D. C., in 1880 vainly endeavoring to secure the passage of a bill, in Congress, providing for a partial compensation for the services he had rendered the United States and for the property of which he had been despoiled by the American people and by the United States authorities, he died. He had for years entertained the vain hope of some day receiving some part of what he justly claimed as his due. The adjourning of Congress without recognizing his claim was an act of ingratitude that broke his heart.

The funeral services were conducted in the Moravian church at Lititz, Rev. Charles Nagle of Philadelphia, officiating. Among the General's friends, in his palmyer days in the West, who were present were General Fremont and General H. F. Gibson, who recounted with much feeling and force the eminent services the deceased had rendered his country and the ingratitude that froze the genial current of his soul.

His demise was informally announced by the playing of trombones in the streets, as is the custom of the Moravian society. Workmen, ceasing a moment from toil, listened quietly and respectfully to the music, gently remarking, "The horns are blowing. Some one has gone home."

INSCRIPTION.

GENERAL JOHN A. SUTTER,
BORN FEBRUARY 28TH, 1803,
AT KANDERN, BADEN.
DIED, JUNE 17TH, 1880,
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.
ANNA SUTTER, NEE DUBELT
BORN SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1805.
IN SWITZERLAND.
DIED, JANUARY 19TH, 1881,
AT LITITZ.

Extract from a private letter written by Mrs. S. O. Houghton, nee Eliza P. Donner, daughter of Donner, one of the Donner Party, whose sad fate has been so often told.

"I have been sad, oh! so sad since tidings flashed across the continent telling the friends of General Sutter to mourn his loss. In tender and loving thought I have followed the remains to his home, have stood by his bier, touched his icy brow, brushed back his snowy locks, and still it is hard for me to realize that he is dead; that he who in my childhood became my ideal of all that is generous, noble and good; he who has ever awakened the warmest gratitude of my nature, is to be laid away in a distant land; but I must not yield to this mood longer. God has only harvested the ripe and golden grain. Nor has he left us comfortless, for recollection, memory's faithful messenger, will bring from her treasury, records of deeds so noble, that the name of General Sutter will be

stamped in the hearts of all people, so long as California has a history. Yes, his name will be written in letters of sunlight on Sierra's snowy mountain sides, will be traced on the clasps of gold which rivet the rocks of our State, and will be arched in transparent characters over the gate that guards our western tides. All who see this land of the sunset will read, and know, and love the name of John A. Sutter, who fed the hungry, clothed the naked and comforted the sorrowing children of California's pioneer days."

GOVERNOR LOWE TO CONGRESS.

State of California, Executive Department,
Sacramento, October 6, 1866.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States:

The bearer of this, Major-Gen. Sutter, was one of the early pioneers of this coast, and by his industry, bravery and indomitable energy, did more to subdue the savage tribes and encourage settlement than any other man. His name and fame are world wide, not only in connection with his early adventures, but also as being the cause of the discovery of gold in this State; gold having first been discovered in a mill-race which he was having constructed. His kindness and generosity to the early emigrants who arrived here

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are proverbial. Although possessed of large grants of land ceded to him by the Mexican Government at the date of the acquisition of this territory by the United States, the delays and expenses incident to the legal adjudication of these titles have stripped him of all his property, leaving him in his old age comparatively penniless.

In view of these considerations, this State at the last session of the legislature granted him an annuity of \$3,000 per annum for five years. He now has it in contemplation to ask Congress for some recognition with compensation and I earnestly commend his claims to the favorable consideration of Congress.

Very respectfully your obt. servt.

Frederick F. Lowe,
Governor, California.

AN ALTA EDITORIAL.

The following article, so full of sentiment and so ably written, is taken from the Daily Alta, San Francisco, May 12, 1879:

"No one of the large number of men and women who came to California during the days of Forty-nine, whether their route was by Cape Horn, via the Isthmus, through Mexico or over the Plains, need be reminded of the privations they endured, the fatigue,

danger, weariness and hunger they too often experienced. And many can but remember, gratefully, the reception they received from certain persons already residing in this country. Weary, worn, ragged, some on foot, having traveled in that manner after losing their teams; hungry, desolate, adrift in a strange land, among strangers; they cannot have forgotten the kindly face and generous heart, the pleasant welcome and open hand they met when they met General Sutter, at Sutter's Fort, or other places. They well remember, they cannot forget, how the honest old Swiss Captain figuratively poured oil upon their bruises, bound up their wounds and literally fed and clothed them. He had preceded them by years. He had crossed the continent seeking a new home, a new Switzerland, a new Versailles, on the Pacific Coast, not induced by the enticements of placers or gold-loaded quartz, for the outside world was ignorant of their existence here.

"He had come here for a new home, and had made one. When the incoming gold-hunters struck the valley of the Sacramento, they were as ragged as beggars, as hungry as wolves, as poor as Lazarus—many of them. But they found in General Sutter a kind friend, a most hospitable host, a free, open-handed, benevolent philanthropist, who shared freely his goods with the needy immigrants, and scores and hundreds were made hopeful if not happy, through the kindly treatment of this old soldier, this grand old simple-

•

hearted Pioneer. But how was he rewarded? His grants of land from the Mexican Government became the object of legal corsairs; he was lawed to death; one by one his estates were taken from him, his property confiscated, his exchequer made bankrupt by continuous strain of resisting the piratical forays made upon his possessions; until after years of useless contention, the lawyer, the land pirates, the courts, succeeded in robbing him of every bit of the grand domain once his; and, finally, in turning him, in his old age, adrift on the tide of time, an outcast from his own home, his own lands, his own house, from the property he had bought, the house he had built, the fortune he had made, a poor old man; like Lear, his gray hair thrust out into the tempest, a sport for the pitiless winds of poverty—poverty in his old age.

“In obedience to the dictates of humanity, the legislature of this state has appropriated a certain sum for the benefit and support of this grand old Pioneer, as a slight recompense for the splendid property and fortune of which he was robbed, with as little reference to justice as if his lands and goods had been seized by pirates, professionally such. No amount of argument or reasoning, citation of cases and precedents, can make it otherwise. He was rich; he committed no crime; he offended no law; but the land-grabber, the land-lawyer went for him and his possessions, and they left him a beggar. And now, in

his old age, driven by poverty, and some faint hopes growing fainter as the days grow few and fewer, he has left the state of his long love, his high hopes, his own grand ambition, laying his humble petition before Congress, asking only a moderate allowance from the country's treasury, which through him has been enriched hundreds of millions of dollars in gold that, but for his enterprise, had still remained hidden in the beds and banks of the rivers of California, in her quartz ledges, in the hidden recesses of gold and silver in this Pacific Coast, as well as in Australia, New Zealand and other auriferous lands. Now a gentleman in Congress has offered a bill granting the good old Pioneer, the pleasant gentleman, the robbed and impoverished man, a grant of fifty thousand dollars. That would not be one-twentieth, nay one-hundredth part of the fortune of which he has been despoiled. Now let us see whether our Government has any soul and sense of gratitude left in it."

THE FORT IN RUINS.

Of the great throng of adventurers who rushed into California in '49 headed for the gold fields, many appeared to know but little, and care less, about the property rights of individual owners. As heretofore shown they appropriated to their own use, things which did not belong to them, without even inquiring after the owner or thanking him if known to them. They seemed to think Providence had provided the good things for the special purpose of relieving their wants and necessities. For awhile the increase of lawlessness kept pace with the increase of immigration. Those people left home and the charms of civilized and refined life, and braved the perils incident to a wearisome journey, over streams, mountains and plains, determined to correct, if possible, the deranged condition of their finance. Their eagerness in the pursuit of gain froze the better elements of their nature and avarice captured their souls. Many, however, are the exceptions to this rule.

The adobe brick, (brick made of adobe soil and dried in the sun,) lumber and other materials used in constructing and finishing the fort, were removed piecemeal therefrom to be used illicitly elsewhere under the sanction of greed. Smaller quantities were

borne away by others through a calm and innocent desire to possess some relic of the distinguished landmark, and to adorn a cabinet of curios. Sometimes it was a piece of wood, a scrap of iron which had served some purpose there, or a nail on which one could fancy Sutter, Fremont or Carson may possibly have hung a coat or a hat, a piece of a stool, not on which "Dante sat," but Ringgold, Dana or Rotchoff, in the palmy days of long ago. When the fugitive, pale and panting, followed by his murderous pursuers, entered the Fort, he felt as I suppose a saint will feel when he concludes the gauntlet of life and enters the new Jerusalem in the "sweet by and by."

At the fort the hungry were fed, the houseless were sheltered and the traveler found rest.

At a meeting of delegates from various Pioneer Societies of California, held in Sacramento City on January 12, 1881, San Francisco, Marysville, Oroville, Vallejo, Sacramento, Amador and Stockton were represented.

David Meeker, Esq., was called to the chair. The object of this convention, he said, was to consider the subject of erecting a monument to the memory of General John A. Sutter. At this convention the subject of restoring Sutter's Fort to its original condition and appearance was taken up and discussed. In the course of this interesting debate it was claimed by some of the speakers that but for the liberty-loving

spirit and firmness of Sutter, General Castro would have driven the Americans out of California; that his generous and far-reaching influence sustained by his fort was the sole protection of the early American adventurers in California. To honor and perpetuate the memory of this explorer and philanthropist by erecting a suitable monument and restoring the fort is the duty of California—the duty of America—the duty of the world. How shall we, how can we who have witnessed, yea experienced, the hospitality of this grand man, refuse to give this measure our hearty support?

The Pioneers, realizing the service the old fort had been to them, continued to agitate the subject of restoring it to its original condition. It is now in good repair.

SUTTER RELIEF FUND.

At the convening of the California legislature in 1864, Hon. J. P. Buckley introduced a bill in the Senate providing for the relief of General John A. Sutter. The bill became a law, having immediate effect, and provided for the appropriation of \$15,000 out of any money in the treasury of the State not otherwise appropriated, and to be drawn in monthly installments of \$250 each for five years, for the benefit of Sutter and his heirs; and in the event of his death his heirs were to receive the same monthly installment until such appropriation be exhausted.

In the winter of 1869-70 Hon. W. E. Eichelroth introduced a bill in the Assembly providing further relief for Sutter. This bill, providing an appropriation of \$250 per month for two years, also passed and became a law.

In the winter of 1872 a similar bill was introduced in the Senate by Hon. J. A. Duffy; and another in the Assembly by Hon. B. C. Northup, in 1874, both of which were passed and approved and went into immediate effect.

It is with peculiar pleasure that the names of the honorable gentlemen who distinguished themselves by

coming to the relief of this kind and good man are recorded here.

He had been despoiled of possessions that would have classed him at that time with Astor and Vanderbilt. He had founded on the Pacific shore an extensive settlement of brave, good and useful men, and had aided materially in bringing California under American rule. He had extended to American immigrants the protection of a sovereign, the blessings of his wealth, and the treasure of his fidelity.

Forever honored be the legislatures that so far reciprocated his princely benefactions. Nor should the great State of California cease her demonstrations of gratitude till the statue of him whose name will be associated long with her history adorns the rotunda of her capitol and his ashes are laid to rest in the shade of the New Helvetia he loved, where the unmeasured strains of the beautiful river, as it flows on, may mingle with his benedictions forever.



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